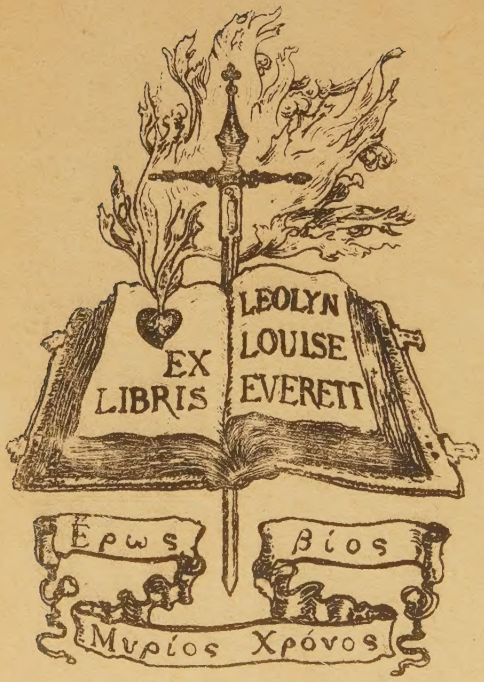
BOOKS ON EGYPT AND CHALDAEA

VOL. XVI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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD., beg to announce that they have still in stock a limited number of the larger edition of the hieroglyphic text and translation of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, with the hieroglyphic vocabulary by DR. WALLIS BUDGE, which appeared in three volumes under the title "CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY," late in 1897.

Price for the Entire Work, £2 10*s.*

VOLUME I. contains all the known Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, printed in hieroglyphic type (pp. 1—517), and a description of the papyri in the British Museum from which they have been edited, and a list of Chapters, etc. (pp. i.—xl.). This edition is the most complete which has hitherto been published.

VOLUME II. contains a full vocabulary (pp. 1—386) to all the hieroglyphic texts of the Chapters of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead and to the supplementary Chapters from the Saïte Recension which are given therewith in Volume I. The volume contains about 35,000 references.

VOLUME III. contains:—

Preface and list of Chapters (i.—xxxvi.).

1. INTRODUCTION (pp. xxxvii.—cciv.):—

Chap. I.—The History of the Book of the Dead. This Chapter is accompanied by eighteen plates which illustrate the palæography of the various Recensions of the Book of the Dead from the Vth Dynasty to the Roman Period.

Chap. II.—Osiris and the Resurrection.
„ III.—The Judgment of the Dead.
„ IV.—The Elysian Fields or Heaven. With extracts from the Pyramid Texts.
„ V.—The Magic of the Book of the Dead.
„ VI.—The Object and Contents of the Book of the Dead.
„ VII.—The Book of the Dead of Nesi-Khonsu, about B.C. 1000 (English translation).
„ VIII.—The Book of Breathings (English translation).
„ IX.—The Papyrus of Takhert-puru-ȧbt (English translation).

2. ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (pp. 1—354). The volume also contains three scenes from the famous Papyrus of Ani representing the Judgment Scene, the Funeral Procession, and the Elysian Fields, which have been reproduced in full colours by Mr. W. Griggs, the eminent photo-lithographer.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

Vol. XVI. OF THE SERIES

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30

Vol. VIII.

EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMIES AND CLEOPATRA VII.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In the year 1894 Dr. Wallis Budge prepared for Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. an elementary work on the Egyptian language, entitled "First Steps in Egyptian," and two years later the companion volume, "An Egyptian Reading Book," with transliterations of all the texts printed in it, and a full vocabulary. The success of these works proved that they had helped to satisfy a want long felt by students of the Egyptian language, and as a similar want existed among students of the languages written in the cuneiform character, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, prepared, on the same lines as the two books mentioned above, an elementary work on the Assyrian and Babylonian languages ("First Steps in Assyrian"), which appeared in 1898. These works, however, dealt mainly with the philological branch of Egyptology and Assyriology, and it was impossible in the space allowed to explain much that needed explanation in the other branches of these subjects—that is to say, matters relating to the archæology, history, religion, etc., of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. In answer to the numerous requests which have been made, a series of short, popular handbooks on the most important branches of Egyptology and Assyriology have been prepared, and it is hoped that these will serve as introductions to the larger works on these subjects. The present is the sixteenth volume of the series, and the succeeding volumes will be published at short intervals, and at moderate prices.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

EGYPT

UNDER THE

PTOLEMIES AND CLEOPATRA VII.

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE

In the present volume the History of Egypt has been continued from the end of the reign of Ptolemy IV. to the death of Cleopatra VII. Tryphaena, i.e., from about B.C. 210 to B.C. 30, and a brief sketch of Nubian history from the end of the XXVIth Dynasty to the establishment of a native Negro Dynasty at Meroë has been added. The Ptolemaïc Period is to the Egyptologist more interesting than important, especially those aspects of it which illustrate the transformation of Egypt into a Hellenized state, and the gradual growth of Greek influence in the country. On the other hand, it must never be forgotten that, although the Ptolemaïc kings and the court and army were Greeks and spoke Greek, the religion of the country continued to be purely Egyptian, and the language of the priesthood and of the people was Egyptian. Publicly the Ptolemies were Egyptians, and many of them were crowned with all the ancient rites and ceremonies at Memphis; and they worshipped the ancient gods and offered up sacrifices to them, and they even followed the example

of the Pharaohs of old in marrying their own sisters and nieces, a course which must have been extremely repugnant to the ideas of their Greek subjects, and which could only have been followed for political purposes. With great tact the Ptolemies carried out the wishes of the Egyptian priesthood, but they took care not to allow the priests to take any important part in the administration of the country, which was carried on by Greek officials and ministers. So much has been said about the evil lives of the Ptolemies, that it is sometimes forgotten that they were not a series of weak and wholly disreputable rulers, but a group of powerful monarchs under whose sway Egypt was as great and as rich as she was even under the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The development of the Egyptian army and fleet under the first four Ptolemies was little short of marvellous, and trade and commerce sprang up wheresoever the ships of Egypt went, and even under the weakest Ptolemies the Egyptian Empire was almost as great as it was under the greatest of the Pharaohs. In a way the Ptolemies cared greatly for the country which a strange fate had called upon them to rule, and for the various peoples who formed its inhabitants; this showed itself in several ways, but it is sufficient to refer to the Egyptian History of Manetho, which was compiled by order of Philadelphus, and to the translation of certain Books of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, and to the toleration which the Greeks displayed towards Egyptian gods. The private vices

of the Ptolemies in no way concerned the people whom they ruled, for they did not interfere with the administration of the country, which was carried on with great benefit to Egypt and the Egyptians; the intelligent interest which the Ptolemies took in literature and art, and the love which they displayed for learning of every kind, prove that they cannot have been the wholly abandoned profligates which writers like Josephus and the author of the Third Book of Maccabees would have us believe.

Concerning the history of that remarkable personality Cleopatra VII. the hieroglyphic inscriptions afford us scant information, but there is abundant proof forthcoming to show that she took every step in her power to make the Egyptians believe that she was a legitimate descendant of the old Pharaohs, and that the blood of Ámen-Rā ran in her veins. By the bas-reliefs which she caused to be sculptured in the temple at Hermonthis she told all beholders that her son by Caesar (Ptolemy XVI.) was in reality the offspring of the god Ámen-Rā, who had taken the form of Caesar and had visited her, and she was, clearly, very anxious that every one should regard her son Caesarion as the son of Ámen-Rā. Cleopatra's wit and ability were as great and as subtle as those of Queen Áāḥ-ḥetep and Ḥātshepset the Great, and she seems to have been their superior in the art of governing; she was by far the cleverest of all the descendants of the Ptolemies, and to the love of literature which she inherited from

her father Ptolemy XIII. she added a good practical knowledge of several languages, which enabled her to converse with people of many nationalities. She possessed shrewd business qualities, and, according to Herod, was capable of driving a good bargain, and her sweet voice and charm of manner and conversation secured her many friends and disarmed many foes. Arrogant, reckless, extravagant, and vicious, are epithets which have been applied to her freely and with much show of reason, but when all is said that can be said on the subject, the love of power appears to have been her ruling passion, and it must be admitted, that although she squandered money she squandered it in a way which proved that she understood the value of pomp and ceremony in the ruling of Eastern peoples.

I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Grueber, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for selecting a number of coins of the Ptolemaïc Period for illustration, and to Mr. F. G. Kenyon, M.A., Assistant Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, for the names of a number of valuable works by authorities on the Ptolemaïc Period. Finally, my thanks are due to Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington, and especially to Mr. G. E. Hay and to Mr. F. Rainer, of their staff, for the care and attention which they have taken in printing the volumes of this work.

E. A. Wallis Budge.

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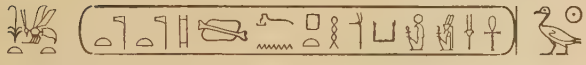
EGYPT

UNDER THE

PTOLEMIES AND CLEOPATRA VII.

CHAPTER I.

THE PTOLEMAÏC PERIOD.

8.  King of the South and North, NETERUI-MERUI-[A]TUI-ĀĀ-SETEP-EN-PTAḤ-USR-KA-RĀ-ÁMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH,[1] son of the Sun, PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.

PTOLEMY V., surnamed EPIPHANES, was the son of Ptolemy IV., by his sister and wife Arsinoë. He was born B.C. 210, and was made co-regent the following year; he ascended the throne on the death of his father in 205, and died by poison administered by one of his officials in 182. The hieroglyphic inscriptions

[1] I.e., "Of the gods lovers of the father the heir, chosen of Ptaḥ, "the strength of the *ka* (or, double) of Rā, living form (or, power) "of Ámen."

of Ptolemy V. give us no information about the circumstances under which he came to the throne, and for these and other important matters concerning his reign we have to rely upon the works of classical writers. According to Polybius (xv. 25, Shuckburgh's Translation) three or four days after the death of Ptolemy Philopator Agathocles and Sosibius caused a platform to be erected, and summoned a meeting of the foot-guards and the household, as well as of the officers of the infantry and cavalry. Mounting the platform

Ptolemy V. Epiphanes.

they announced the deaths of the king and queen, and proclaimed the customary period of mourning for the people. They next placed a diadem upon the head of the child Ptolemy Epiphanes, and proclaimed him king, and read a forged will, in which the late king nominated Agathocles and Sosibius guardians of his son, and they exhorted the officers to be loyal to the boy. They next brought in two silver urns, one of which they declared contained the ashes of the king —which was true—and the other those of Arsinoë—which was not true.

When the people learned that Arsinoë was dead there was great excitement among them, and her miserable death "excited such a passion of pity and sorrow that the "city was filled with sighs, tears, and irrepressible lamen-

Ptolemy V. making offerings to Khnemu, lord of Qebḥet and Senmut.

"tation." When Agathocles had deposited the urns in the royal mortuary, and had given orders for the laying aside of mourning, he gave the army two months' pay, and made them take the oath customary at the

proclamation of a new king. He made Philammon, who had been the actual murderer of Arsinoë, governor of Cyrene, and he placed the boy-king under the care of his own mother, Oenanthe, and of the infamous Agathocleia; Pelops, the son of Pelops, he sent to Antiochus in Asia, to ask him to maintain friendly relations with Alexandria; and Ptolemy, the son of Sosibius, he sent to Philip of Macedon, to arrange a marriage between the royal families of the two countries. Ptolemy, the son of Agesarchus, he sent to Rome, and Scopas, the Aetolian, he sent to Greece to find recruits, his object being to send the soldiers already in the city to garrison duty in various parts of the country, and to employ the new recruits about the palace and in Alexandria. Agathocles then gave himself up to a life of debauchery, and "he devoted the "chief part of the day and night to drunkenness and "all the excesses which accompany drunkenness, sparing "neither matron nor bride, nor virgin, and doing all "this with the most offensive ostentation. The result "was a widespread outburst of discontent; and when "there appeared no prospect of reforming this state of "things, or of obtaining protection against the violence, "insolence, and debauchery of the court, which on the "contrary grew daily more outrageous, their old hatred "blazed up once more in the hearts of the common "people, and all began to recall the misfortunes which "the kingdom already owed to these very men. But "the absence of anyone fit to take the lead, and by

"whose means they could vent their wrath upon "Agathocles and Agathocleia, kept them quiet. Their "one remaining hope rested upon Tlepolemus, and on "this they fixed their confidence."

As long as Ptolemy IV. was alive Tlepolemus remained in retirement, but upon his death he again assumed the governorship of Pelusium. When he saw that Agathocles was monopolizing the supreme power, being afraid of the evil which might come upon him he began to collect both troops and money, and to shape his actions in such a way that the guardianship of the young king might devolve upon him. At the banquets which he gave frequently he purposely abused Agathocles and his sister, and when Agathocles learned these things he began to trump up charges of treason against him, and to declare that he was inviting Antiochus to come and seize the government. The object of Agathocles was to inflame the common people against Tlepolemus, but he failed utterly, for the populace had long fixed their hopes on Tlepolemus, and were only too delighted to see the quarrel growing hot between them. At length Agathocles summoned a meeting of the Macedonian guards, and taking his own sister and the young king, he went in before them and stood up to address them. "At first he feigned not to be able to say what he "wished for tears; but after again and again wiping "his eyes with his chlamys he at length mastered his "emotion, and taking the young king in his arms,

"spoke as follows: 'Take this boy, whom his father "on his death-bed placed in this lady's arms' (point- "ing to his sister), 'and confided to your loyalty, men "of Macedonia. That lady's affection has but little "influence in securing the child's safety; it is on you "that that safety now depends; his fortunes are in "your hands. It has long been evident to those who "had eyes to see, that Tlepolemus was aiming at "something higher than his natural rank; but now he "has named the day and hour on which he intends to "assume the crown. Do not let your belief of this "depend upon my words; refer to those who know the "real truth and have but just come from the very "scene of his treason.'"

With these words he brought forward Critolaus, who deposed that he had seen with his own eyes the altars being decked, and the victims being "got ready by the common soldiers for the cere- "mony of a coronation." When the Macedonian guards heard this they hooted Agathocles out of the building, which he left amid sounds of contempt and derision, hardly knowing how he did so. Agathocles then foolishly took Danae, the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus, from the temple of Demeter, and had her dragged unveiled through the city, and threw her into prison; but this act only enraged the people more. He also caused one of the bodyguard called Moeragenes, who was suspected of being in communication with Tlepolemus, to be arrested, and he would have been

examined with torture but for some unforeseen matter which made it necessary for Nicostratus, the secretary of Agathocles, to leave the torture chamber, whereupon the torturers and the scourgers slipped out after him, and eventually Moeragenes himself escaped. Moeragenes fled half-naked into a tent of Macedonian guards, and he besought them with tears in his eyes to seize that moment and to wreak vengeance upon Agathocles without delay. The passions of the Macedonians having been roused, they went and discussed the matter with the men of their own and of other regiments, and in less than four hours every soldier had agreed that the moment had come for action.

Meanwhile an intercepted letter informed Agathocles that Tlepolemus would be at Alexandria shortly, and the spies said that he had already arrived; Agathocles, distracted at the news, went to his wine at the usual hour, and kept up the carouse, whilst his mother Oenanthe went in great distress to the temple of Demeter and Persephone, and begged these goddesses, with bowings of the knee and strange incantations, to help her. The ladies of the family of Polycrates tried to console her, but she abused them, and ordered her female attendants to drive them away, and to strike them with their staves if they refused to go. When night fell the whole city was filled with tumult, torches, and hurrying feet, and the open spaces round the palace, the stadium, and the street were filled with a motley crowd, as well as the area in front of the

Dionysian Theatre. When Agathocles was informed of what was happening he roused himself, and accompanied by his family, went to the king, and taking him by the hand, he proceeded to the covered walk which ran between the Maeander garden and the Palaestra. By this time the crowd had collected in such numbers that every foot of ground was occupied, and every roof and doorstep filled with human beings. As day began to break the mob began to call for the king. The Macedonian guards seized a part of the palace, and as soon as they learned where the king had gone they went to the covered walk and burst open the doors, and cried out with loud voices that the king must be brought to them. Agathocles begged his guards to go and tell the Macedonians that he resigned the guardianship of the king, and all the offices, honours, and emoluments which he held; everyone refused to do this except Aristomenes, who went and gave the message, and was nearly stabbed to death for his pains. The Macedonians eventually sent him back to fetch the king, or else to come no more himself.

When Agathocles saw that they were determined on a course of action he thrust his hands through the latticed door, while Agathocleia did the same with her breasts, which she said had suckled the king, and begged for their lives, but finding that his long and piteous appeals produced no effect, he sent out the king with the bodyguards. The Macedonians set the king on a horse, and his appearance was greeted

with shouts and hand clappings; he was then led to the stadium and seated in the royal stall. The crowd delighted in the sight of the child, but they also wanted vengeance, and Sosibius, a son of the elder Sosibius, asked him if he would "surrender to the "populace those who had injured him or his mother." The young king having nodded assent, Sosibius told some of the bodyguard to announce the king's decision, and then took the child home to his own house which was close by, for the child was frightened at the unaccustomed faces and the uproar of the crowd, and needed attention and nourishment. The king's message was received with cheers and clapping of hands, and the soldiers went to search for Agathocles and his sister. In due course Agathocles was dragged along bound hand and foot, and he was at once killed; next came Nicon his relative, and after him Agathocleia stripped naked with her two sisters; and following them the rest of the family. Last of all, men brought Oenanthe, whom they had torn from the temple of Demeter and Persephone, riding naked upon a horse. "They were all given up to the populace, "who bit, and stabbed them, and knocked out their "eyes, and, as soon as anyone of them fell, tore him "limb from limb, until they had utterly annihilated "them all: for the savagery of the Egyptians when "their passions are roused is indeed terrible. At the "same time some young girls who had been brought "up with Arsinoë, having learnt that Philammon, the

"chief agent in the murder of that Queen, had arrived "three days before from Cyrene, rushed to his house; "forced their way in; killed Philammon with stones "and sticks; strangled his infant son; and, not "content with this, dragged his wife naked into the "street and put her to death."

Tlepolemus now became prime minister of Egypt, and in some ways he was a capable man. He was young, and according to Polybius (xvi. 21), aspiring and ambitious, and possessed great ability as a general, and high natural courage, and he knew how to get on with soldiers; he lacked diligence and sobriety, and was a poor financier. He was fond of amusements, and squandered money recklessly, and bestowed extravagant gifts upon the officers and soldiers of the palace guard. "He was utterly incapable of saying "no, and bestowed anything there was at hand on any "one who said anything to please him." The result of this was that the supreme power in the state came into the hands of Aristomenes, who "was an Acarnanian, "and though far advanced in life when he obtained "supreme power, he is thought to have made a most "excellent and blameless guardian of the king and "kingdom" (Polybius xv. 31). As soon as Ptolemy IV. was dead Antiochus the Great and Philip V. of Macedon thought that a favourable moment had come for them to enlarge their dominions at the expense of Egypt, and that no one about the boy-king would be able to defend his interests against their attack. Philip at

once seized upon the Cyclades and a number of places which had always been regarded as Egyptian possessions (Polybius iii. 2), but somehow failed to keep the promise he had made to Antiochus III. to support by his fleet at sea the efforts of the Syrian army by land. Meanwhile Antiochus had seized upon Palestine and Coele Syria, and in order to stop his progress Tlepolemus and Aristomenes were glad to send an army against him under the leadership of Scopas the Aetolian, who is described by Polybius (xiii. 2) as having disgusted his paymasters by his cupidity, and who is said to have drawn from the king of Egypt 10 minae per day in addition to his military pay as commander-in-chief. In due course Scopas marched into Syria against Antiochus; he at first gained some small successes, chiefly against the Jewish nation (Polybius xvi. 39), but in the end he was beaten by his opponent, who forthwith took Batanaea, Samaria, Abila, and Gadara, and soon afterwards the city of Jerusalem surrendered to him (B.C. 198). Thus Egypt lost her possessions of Palestine and Coele Syria, and would, no doubt, have lost much more had it not been that the advisers of the boy-king Ptolemy V. thought it well to appeal to Rome for help against Philip V. and Antiochus III. Some writers[1] take the view that the Romans sent M. A. Lepidus to Egypt in response to this appeal, and say that he became the king's guardian and tutor, but no satisfactory evidence can

[1] Compare Justin, xxx. 2, 3; xxxi. 1.

be brought forward in support of this view. The Romans did, however, send ambassadors to Antiochus to warn him not to attack further any of the possessions of Egypt, but meanwhile the king of Syria had made a treaty with Ptolemy,[1] and had agreed to give him his daughter Cleopatra to wife, and to restore to Egypt Coele Syria, Samaria, Judaea, and Phoenicia.

During the years which immediately followed Egypt was ruled by Aristomenes, and under his wise direction the prosperity of the country began to return, and the authority of a central government made itself felt throughout the country. But this state of affairs was not pleasing to everyone, and among the malcontents was Scopas, the money-loving general who had been sent against Antiochus. This man had endeavoured to make the Alexandrians revolt against the authority of Aristomenes, but he was arrested and taken to the council chamber by Ptolemy, the son of Eumenes, and charges of conspiracy and sedition were read against him by the king, and by Polycrates, and by Aristomenes; he was condemned not only by the council, but by the envoys of the foreign nations who were present. Scopas vainly attempted to make the council listen to the pleas which he put forth in his defence, but, "owing "to the senseless nature of his proceedings he was "taken along with his friends to prison. There after "nightfall Aristomenes caused Scopas and his family "to be put to death by poison. As in the lifetime of

[1] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii. 4, § 1; Polybius, xviii. 51.

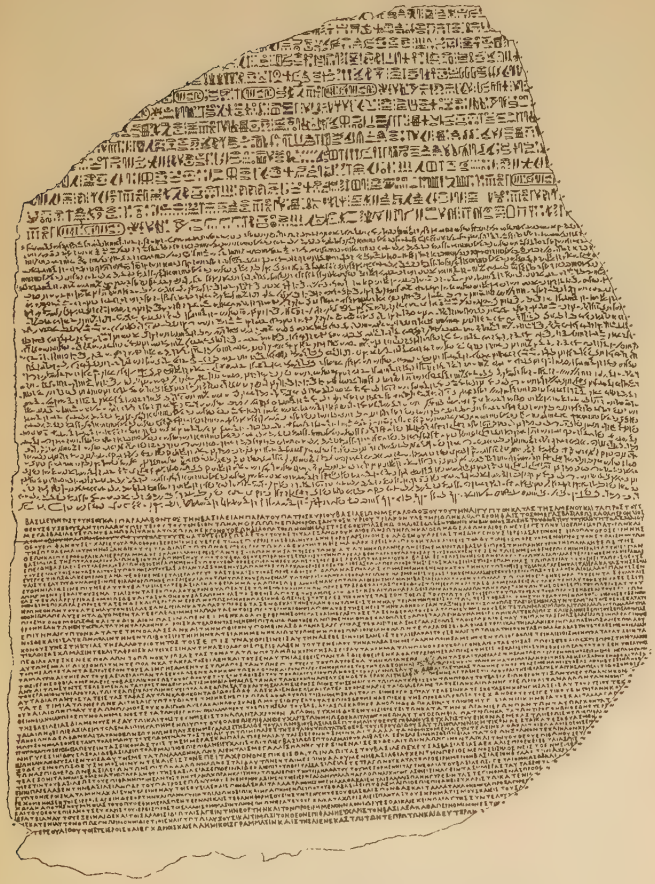
"Scopas his love of money had been notorious, for his "avarice did in fact surpass that of any man in the "world, so after his death was it made still more "conspicuous by the enormous amount of gold and "other property found in his house; for by the as- "sistance of the coarse manners and drunken habits of "Charimortus[1] he had absolutely pillaged the kingdom" (Polybius xviii. 55).

The attempt of Scopas to overthrow the government seems to have convinced the advisers of Ptolemy V. that the time had come when the king should be established in his kingdom, and though according to precedent he was not sufficiently old, they decided in their minds that "the kingdom would gain a certain degree of "firmness, and a fresh impulse towards prosperity, if "it were known that the king had assumed the "independent direction of the government" (Polybius xviii. 56). They therefore made all ready for the *Ἀνακλητήρια*, i.e., the "festival of proclaiming a sovereign," and the ceremony was performed with the greatest splendour and success (B.C. 196); to this result the ability of Polycrates largely contributed. In the very year in which the king took the rule of the country into his own hands, the decree, which was inscribed in the hieroglyphic and demotic characters

[1] From a Greek inscription published by Mr. H. R. Hall (*Classical Review*, 1898, p. 276), which must belong to the year B.C. 207, we learn that this same Charimortus was the strategos of the elephant hunts which were conducted on the African coast of the Red Sea for Ptolemy IV.

and in Greek upon the famous "Rosetta Stone," was promulgated. This monument is of the greatest importance, for it has not only given us valuable information concerning the condition of Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy V., but has afforded the clue to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.[1] The inscription is dated on the 18th day of the second month of the season Pert, of the ninth year of Ptolemy V., when Aetos, the son of Aetos, was priest of Alexander and other deified Macedonians; and Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinos, was Athlophoros of Berenice; and Areia, daughter of Diogenes, was Canephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphus; and Eirene, daughter of Ptolemy, was priestess of Arsinoë Philopator. It sets forth that the whole of the priesthood throughout the country had assembled at Memphis to celebrate the festival of the "receiving of the sovereignty" by Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes Eucharistus;

[1] The first facsimile of the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone, which is now preserved in the British Museum, was published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1802. See Brugsch, *Inscriptio Rosettana*, Berlin, 1851; Brugsch, *Die Inschrift von Rosette*, Berlin, 1850; Chabas, *L'Inscription hiéroglyphique de Rosette*, Paris, 1867; Revillout, *Chrestomathie Démotique*; a handy transcript of the Greek text is given by Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 240, No. 69; and English renderings will be found in Sharpe, *The Rosetta Stone*, London, 1871; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 71 ff.; and Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaïc Dynasty*, p. 152 ff. A short form of the hieroglyphic text is given by Bouriant in *Recueil*, tom. vi. p. 1 ff., from a limestone stele, which was found at An-Nûbârîyeh, النوبارية, near Damanhûr, and which is now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo.

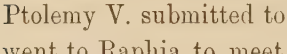


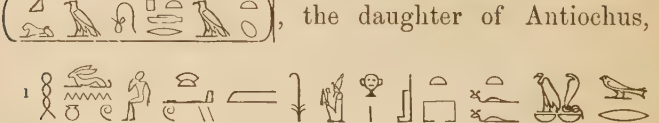
The Rosetta Stone. British Museum, No. 32.

that inasmuch as the king was well disposed towards the gods, and had offered revenues to the temples; and had remitted wholly some taxes and had lightened others; and had released prisoners; and had granted amnesty to those who rebelled; and had provided ships and an army to protect the country and its temples; and had taken by assault the city of Lycopolis, which had fallen into the hands of rebels, and had punished the ringleaders; and had remitted certain taxes on the temple property and had lightened others; and had given gifts to the shrines of the Apis and Mnevis Bulls, and made arrangements for their burials; and had restored the temples and sanctuaries of the gods throughout the country—because the king had done all these things they determined to increase the honours paid to him and his ancestors, and to set up a statue of Ptolemy in every temple.

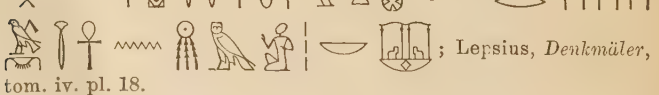
The latter part of the inscription describes how these statues are to be dressed, and adored, and carried about in procession, and decrees that the king's birthday and day of coronation shall be observed as festivals, etc., and concludes with an order that the decree shall be inscribed upon a stele in hieroglyphics, demotic, and Greek, and that a copy of it, also on stone, shall be set up in every temple of the first, second, and third class throughout the land. What the Egyptian titles chosen by the king on his accession were cannot be said, but from the inscriptions on his monuments it appears that his Horus name was, "The Boy who riseth like the

king of the South upon the throne of his father;" and that as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, and the Horus of gold he called himself "Mighty "one of two-fold strength, making strong the two "lands, making beautiful Ta-mert (Egypt), beneficent "of heart before the gods," and (2) "Giver of life to "men, lord of thirty-year festivals."[1] On one relief he is styled "Beautiful, living god, emanation of Rā, son "of the lords of Khemennu"[2] (Hermopolis), and on another, "son of the White Crown, child of the Red Crown, nursling of the goddess Ur-ḥekat."[3]

About three years after his coronation at Memphis (B.C. 193), which seems to have been conducted on the lines laid down in ancient times, and which proves that Ptolemy V. submitted to the custom of the country, he went to Raphia to meet the Syrian princess Cleopatra,  , the daughter of Antiochus,

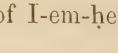
1  ; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, tom. iv. pl. 18.

2 . *Ibid.*

3  . *Ibid.*

Ptolemy arrayed in priestly apparel burning incense.

king of Syria, and married her there. Coele Syria and Palestine were given to her as her dowry, but her father garrisoned them with his own troops, and these provinces were practically lost to Egypt; moreover, though Ptolemy V. took the greatest care to maintain friendly relations with the Romans, who pretended that they were fighting Antiochus on behalf of the king of Egypt, they helped him in no way to recover any of the possessions which he had lost by sea and by land. In the latter part of his reign the king shook himself free from the wise influence of Aristomenes, and surrounded himself with sycophants, and finally, being unable to endure the presence of this faithful servant, he caused him to commit suicide. Ptolemy then allowed Polycrates to aid him in his vices, and it is said that this man took the greatest care to prevent him from giving any attention to the army and public affairs.

The remains of the buildings of Ptolemy V. in Egypt are not numerous, and consist chiefly of restorations at Philae, where he added to the temple of Ar-ḥes-nefer, built by his father and Arq-Amen, king of Nubia, and finished the temple of I-em-ḥetep,  , the Asclepios of the Greeks. At Philae also is found a duplicate of the famous decree of the 9th year of Ptolemy V. as found on the Rosetta Stone, but it lacks the Greek version. The scarcity of monuments in this reign is probably due to the fact that the rebellion in Upper Egypt against the rule of the Ptolemies which

Scene from a doorway at Philae.

Ptolemy V. Epiphanes making offerings to the company of the great gods.

broke out in the sixteenth year of the reign of Ptolemy IV. was not put down until the nineteenth year of the reign of Ptolemy V., and we are justified in assuming that the Nubian king Ârq-Âmen, or a successor, was master of the country for about twenty-eight years. Into this period would fit very well the time of the rule of the two native kings at Thebes who, according to M. E. Revillout, were called Ḥeru-khuti and Ânkh-em-khu, and who reigned altogether twenty years.[1]

Of the personal life and character of the king less is known than of many of the Ptolemies, but he seems to have been morally weak, indolent, and vicious, and an example quoted by Polybius (xxii. 7) shows that his word was not to be trusted, and that he was cruel. The nobles who had revolted at Lycopolis (B.C. 186) surrendered at discretion, but were treated in the most cruel manner, and when Polycrates suppressed another revolt the same thing took place. Pledges had been given to Athinis, and Pausiris, and Chesuphus, and Irobastus, but when they appeared at Saïs Ptolemy, regardless of all pledges, had them tied to carts and dragged off, and then put to death with torture. According to Polybius he took no actual part in the war, but this writer attributes the fact to the "dishonest advice" of Polycrates. Be this as it may, the rule of Epiphanes became very unpopular, and the loss of Coele Syria and Palestine, and of many of the

[1] See *Revue Égyptologique*, tom. ii. p. 145.

possessions of Egypt in the Mediterranean, made the people of the country discontented.

In 182 he began to make preparations for a war against Seleucus IV. Philopator, the son and successor of Antiochus the Great, with the intention of wresting Coele Syria from him, but as soon as the Egyptian nobles and the officers knew that they would be expected to find the means for the campaign they took an opportunity of poisoning their king. Ptolemy left at least two sons, both of whom ascended the throne, and a daughter called Cleopatra. The decline of the power of Egypt, which had begun under Ptolemy IV., continued under his successor, and with the accession to the throne of Ptolemy VI. the period which is marked by the downfall of the Macedonian rule in Egypt began.

Ptolemy VI., surnamed Eupator, was the eldest son of Ptolemy V., and appears to have been associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom some years before his death in 182; he seems to have reigned alone for a very few months, or perhaps even a few weeks only, and nothing whatsoever is known about him.

9. King of the South and North, Neterui-perui-āā-en-ptaḥ-kheper-setep-en-Åmen-åri-Maāt-Rā, son of the Sun, Ptualmis-ānkh-tchetta-Ptaḥ-meri.

Ptolemy VII., surnamed Philometor, was the son of Ptolemy V. and the Syrian princess Cleopatra; at the time of his father's death in 182 he was a mere child, and his mother ruled the country during his minority. She must have been a woman of great ability, for she managed to preserve friendly relations between Egypt and the kings of the neighbouring nations, and the well-being and prosperity of the country suffered in no way during her rule. In 175 Seleucus Philopator succeeded in releasing his brother Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, who in 188 had been given as a hostage to the Romans, by sending Demetrius, his son, in his place, and whilst the former hostage was on his way to Syria, Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus, who seized the throne. The rebel did not, however, occupy the throne long, for Antiochus gained the mastery over him in that same year, and became king of Syria. Two years later Cleopatra seems to have thought the boy-king old enough to be crowned, and the coronation ceremonies were performed, either just before or just after her death, B.C. 173. As soon as Cleopatra was dead, the inevitable quarrel arose about the revenues of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, which had formed her dowry; her son naturally wished to retain them, and Antiochus IV. as naturally wished them to come to him. The advisers of the young king, Eulaeus and Lenaeus, whose sympathies were with the Egyptians, are said to have urged Ptolemy VII. to go to war about the matter, and he prepared to do so, but

whilst he was getting his forces together Antiochus seized the provinces in dispute, and in the battle which

Ptolemy VII. offering a crown, and Queen Cleopatra presenting sistra to the gods.

took place near Pelusium the Egyptians were routed with great loss, and their king only saved himself by flight.

Soon afterwards Antiochus took Pelusium and marched quickly up to Memphis, which he seized, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt; about this time Ptolemy VII. fell into his hands, and though he treated him honourably the young man was to all intents and purposes a prisoner. Meanwhile there was a younger brother of Ptolemy VII. at Alexandria, who was also called Ptolemy, who was living with their sister; this very young man, hearing that his brother was a prisoner at Memphis, collected an army, and prepared defences in and about Alexandria, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt. When Antiochus IV. came and attacked the city, this Ptolemy succeeded in beating him off, and thus the capital of the country was saved. Antiochus next appointed Ptolemy VII. viceroy of Memphis, and having stationed a garrison of Syrians in Pelusium, retreated to Syria. But when Ptolemy at Alexandria took upon himself to defend Alexandria, he proclaimed himself king of Egypt, and so it fell out that there were two kings of Egypt called Ptolemy reigning at the same time. The younger Ptolemy was called by the Alexandrians "Physcon," because of his unwieldy appearance, and it is he who became known later as Ptolemy IX., Euergetes II.

As soon as Antiochus had withdrawn from Egypt the two brothers came to terms, and made an arrangement which satisfied themselves and their sister. When Antiochus heard what had happened he attacked Egypt once more, and would, no doubt,

have made himself master of the country had not M. Popillius Laenas ordered him back to Syria. In 170 the brothers agreed to reign jointly, but in 163 a quarrel broke out between them, and Ptolemy IX. drove his brother out of Alexandria. Ptolemy VII. fled to Rome for protection, and the Senate sent him back to Egypt with envoys who had full power to re-establish him on his throne, and to appoint Ptolemy IX. to the kingdom of Cyrene. But after a very short time Ptolemy IX. left his new kingdom and went to Rome, and succeeded in persuading the Senate to make him master of Cyprus as well as of Cyrene; he was not, however, permitted to go to Cyprus directly, but was sent back to Cyrene to wait for the Roman envoys who had been sent to obtain the consent of his brother the King of Egypt. Whilst he was waiting he collected a large number of troops apparently with the idea of invading Egypt, but he was obliged to use them in putting down a rebellion in his own country, Cyrene. Later he again visited Rome, and the Senate sent envoys to establish him in Cyprus, but when they arrived in the Island they found Ptolemy of Egypt in possession, with a large army; Ptolemy of Cyrene was besieged straightway in Lapethus, and was soon obliged to surrender, when his brother sent him back to Cyrene, telling him to be content with that kingdom (B.C. 155).

Whilst the dispute over Cyprus was proceeding, Demetrius Soter of Syria tried to get possession

of the Islands; to punish him Ptolemy VII. gave his support to Alexander Balas and, when this man had made himself master of Syria, gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife (B.C. 150). When he heard that Demetrius was coming with an army to depose Alexander Balas, Ptolemy VII. collected an army and marched to the help of his son-in-law, but when he arrived at Ptolemaïs an attack was made upon his life by one Ammonius, an intimate friend of Alexander Balas. Ptolemy was convinced that the attack was made with the knowledge of his son-in-law, and became quite certain of it when Alexander refused to punish his friend; he thereupon transferred his help to Demetrius and gave him his daughter Cleopatra, whom he had taken away from Alexander. Ptolemy marched to Antioch, where he was received with gladness and proclaimed king of Syria; he, however, established Demetrius on the throne. Shortly afterwards Alexander Balas appeared with an army, and Ptolemy VII. and his new son-in-law went out to do battle with him; the allied kings were victorious, but Ptolemy VII. was thrown from his horse, and his skull was so badly fractured that he died a few days after (B.C. 146). Polybius describing his character (xxxix. 18) says, "If "any king before him ever was, he was mild and "benevolent; a very strong proof of which is that he "never put any of his own friends to death on any "charge whatever; and I believe that not a single man "at Alexandria either owed his death to him. How-

"ever, in the course of a series of successes and "prosperity his mind became corrupted; and he fell a "prey to the dissoluteness and effeminacy characteristic "of the Egyptians; and these vices brought him into "serious disasters."

In connexion with the reign of Ptolemy VII. must be mentioned the persecution of the Jews, which was begun by Antiochus IV. on his way back from Egypt; it, no doubt, resulted in the settlement in Egypt of a large number of Jews who would otherwise have remained in Jerusalem. Having seized the city, he slew many of those in it who were in favour of Egyptian rule, and when he had taken from it a large sum of money he went on to Antioch. Two years later he returned, and having obtained possession of the city by treachery he broke the covenant which he had made with the Jews, and stripped the Temple of everything of value. He took away the golden candlesticks, and the golden altar of incense, and the table for shew-bread, and the altar of burnt offering, and even the veils, which were made of fine linen and scarlet. He forbade the sacrifices, and slew men and women, and carried into captivity 10,000 people; he burnt down the finest buildings, and having thrown down the city walls he built in the lower part of the city a citadel, which he fortified with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians. He then set up an idol upon Yahweh's altar, and slew swine upon it, and made the people build altars and sacrifice swine upon

them also. He forbade circumcision and other rites, and those who observed the laws of their religion were beaten with rods, and their bodies torn to pieces, and many were crucified; the mothers who had their children circumcised were hung upon crosses with their children about their necks. Every copy of the Book of the Law was destroyed, and those with whom sacred writings were found perished miserably (Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii. v.).

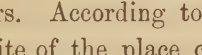
Allowing for exaggeration, it is certain that the Jews suffered greatly at the hands of Antiochus, and there is small wonder that many of the inhabitants of Palestine went down to live in Egypt. Among those who fled was a young man called Onias, the son of Onias, a high priest, and nephew of Onias, who also had been high priest, and who had been put to death by Antiochus at the instigation of Lysias his general; when Antiochus had slain the high priest he appointed to the office a man called Alkimos, or Iakamos, who did not belong to the family of the high priest. Onias was kindly received by Ptolemy VII., and he told the king that if he would let him build a temple somewhere in Egypt where the Jews could worship God according to their own customs, they would fight against Antiochus more readily, and that he would bring most of the Jews over to his side. Josephus says that Onias made his request in writing (*Antiq.* xiii. 3 § 1), and purports to give a copy of Ptolemy's answer, which is as follows:—"King Ptolemy

Scene from a bas-relief of Rameses II. reproduced at Philae by the order of Ptolemy VII.

"and Queen Cleopatra to Onias send greeting. We "have read the petition, wherein thou desirest leave "to be given to thee to purge that temple which is "fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Helio- "polis, and which is named from the country Bubastis; "on which account we cannot but wonder that it should "be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place "so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since "thou sayest that Isaiah[1] the prophet foretold this "long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be "done according to your law, and so that we may not "appear to have at all offended God herein." Thereupon Onias built a "fortress and a temple, not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower"; the building was 60 cubits high, and had a girdle wall of burnt brick with gates of stone. The altar was like that at Jerusalem, and, among other things, had upon it a lamp, which was hammered out of a piece of gold, and suspended by a gold chain. This place was called Onion, and was, according to Josephus (*Wars*, vii. 10, § 3), 180 furlongs from Memphis.

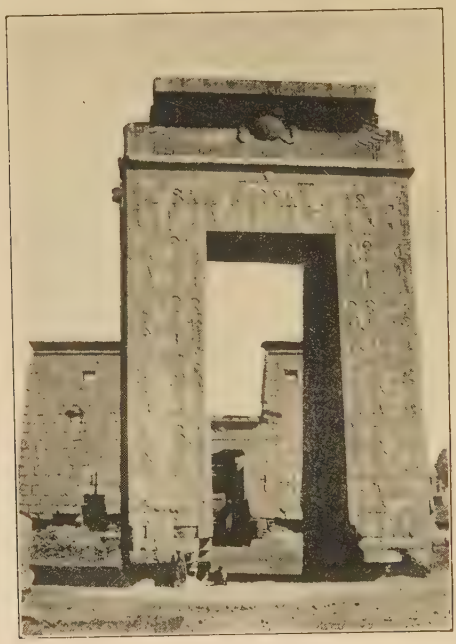
It seems pretty clear that Ptolemy's object in allowing this temple to be built was political, and that he recognized the great importance to his interests of drawing away the Jews from Palestine is evident. Onion was a flourishing place and an

[1] "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord."—Isaiah xix. 19.

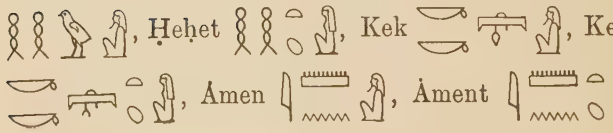
important centre of Jewish life and activity in Egypt for several generations, and it received a certain amount of financial support from the Ptolemies. According to Josephus (*Wars*, vii. x. § 4), Onion was first pillaged by Lupus, governor of Alexandria in the reign of Vespasian, and the temple was shut up by him; his successor Paulinus completed the evil work which Lupus had begun, and not only looted the sanctuary, but drove away the priests and worshippers, and "made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there "remained no longer the least footsteps of any divine "worship that had been in that place." From the founding of Onion to its destruction was a period of 343 years. According to M. Naville,[1] Onion was built on the site of the place called in the time of Rameses III. "The House of Rā to the north of Ânnu" (Heliopolis),  , and it is represented by the modern Tell el-Yahûdîyeh, تل اليهودية, which is quite close to Shibîn al-Ḳanâṭîr, a station on the line between Cairo and Manṣûra. The Romans appear to have called the place "Scenae Veteranorum." It is doubtful if Josephus is right in identifying Onion with Leontopolis, and as he mentions the place in connexion with Bubastis he seems to have confused some shrine of Sekhet, who was worshipped under the form of a lioness-headed woman, with an old sanctuary of Rā.

[1] For the excavations made on the site of Onion see *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, by E. Naville, London, 1890.

Of his activity as a builder Ptolemy VII. left many evidences in Upper Egypt. He carried out repairs at Karnak on one of the pylons, and we have there reliefs in which he is seen making offerings to Ḥeḥu



Ptolemaïc Pylon at Karnak.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

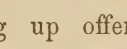


Nu, , and Nut, ; and in company with his wife Cleopatra he makes offerings to the goddess Sesheta , and to the god Osiris.[1] Elsewhere he is seen dedicating a figure of Maāt and a palette to Ptaḥ and the goddess Maāt. At Esneh he is seen offering incense and pouring out libations to Osiris, and he is usually accompanied by his wife; on a relief he is seen presenting a jar of unguent to Nit (Neith) , and to Ka-ḥrà .[2] At Edfû he continued the work which had been begun by Ptolemy III., and which seems to have been at a standstill from the 16th year of the reign of Ptolemy IV. until that of Ptolemy VII. At Kom Ombo are a few reliefs in which Ptolemy VII. is seen making offerings to the

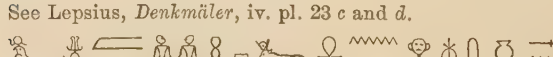
Plan of the Temple at Kom Ombo.
(After J. de Morgan.)

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 21.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 23 *b*.

gods Ḥeru-ur (Aroëris) and Khensu,[1] and at Philae he built largely. But before the buildings on the latter place are mentioned the king's works at Dêr al-Medîneh in Western Thebes must be referred to. The beautiful little temple Dêr al-Medîneh was founded by Ptolemy IV., but its decoration remained unfinished. The work was continued by Ptolemy VII., apparently during the period of the joint reign of Ptolemy VII. and Ptolemy IX., i.e., between 170 and 163, for we see on one of the walls a relief in which are represented the two brothers and their sister, who are offering up offerings. All three are worshipping Åmen-Ṛā, Hathor, and the eight gods whose names are given in hieroglyphics above. In the hieroglyphic inscription which is above the scene we find that Ptolemy VII. is called the "twin" or "kinsman of Apis,"  , and that Cleopatra is called the "wife of the twin (or, kinsman, *ḥeter*) of Apis;" now it appears that both brothers used this title, and we cannot consider it as indicating that the man who bore it was born on the same day as the Apis Bull. We may also note in passing that the inscription supplies us with the names and titles of the king as Horus,[2] as lord of the shrines

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 23 *c* and *d*.

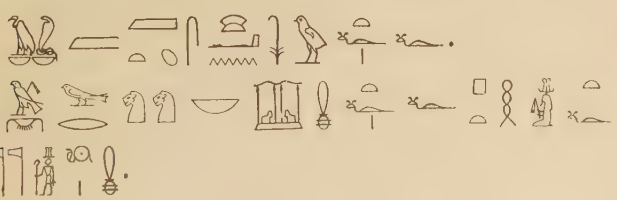
[2] 

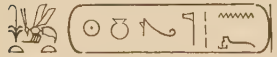
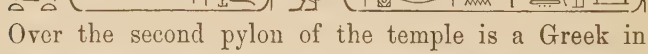
of Nekhebet and Uatchet,[1] and as the Horus of gold.[2]

At Philae he founded the temple of Hathor, which was completed by his brother, Ptolemy IX., and he added largely to the temple of Isis which had been founded by Ptolemy II. The right tower of the second pylon of this temple is built over a huge

Ptolemy VII. dedicating certain lands to Osiris and Isis of Philae.

mass of the living granite rock upon which are inscribed six lines of the hieroglyphic text of a

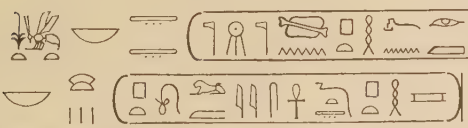


decree, dated on the first day of the third month of the season Shemu, of the 24th year of the reign of Ptolemy VII., recording the gift to the temple of a large quantity of land which was situated between Philae and Aswân on the east bank of the river. Above the inscription is a figure of the king, followed by that of his wife, making an offering of a field, , to Osiris and Isis of Philae, and an offering of incense to Isis and her son Horus.[1] At Dâbûd, a place on the west bank of the Nile about thirteen miles south of Philae, Ptolemy VII. restored or added to a temple which was built near the town called Ta-ḥet, , in the Egyptian inscriptions, by the Nubian king who was named  , son of the Sun,  . Over the second pylon of the temple is a Greek inscription[2] of Ptolemy VII. Dâbûd marks the site of the ancient city of Parembole, which was a kind of border fortress between Egypt and Nubia. It is difficult to explain the presence of work by Ptolemy VII. at Dâbûd, but we must not assume that he conquered the country, as some have done.

[1] For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 27.

[2] See Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 249.

PTOLEMY VIII., surnamed according to some EUPATOR II., and NEOS PHILOPATOR according to others, was the son of Ptolemy VII. by his wife and sister Cleopatra, and when his father died he was a young child (B.C. 146). Notwithstanding this fact Cleopatra boldly proclaimed her son king of Egypt, and began to govern the country in his name. When Ptolemy IX. heard what had been done, he collected an army and marched upon Alexandria, but no fighting took place, for Roman envoys intervened and adjudged the throne of Egypt to Ptolemy IX., and decreed that he should marry his brother's widow. To this he agreed, and it is said that on the day in which the marriage was solemnized Ptolemy VIII., Eupator or Neos Philopator, was murdered by his uncle. Thus it fell out that Ptolemy VIII. was only king nominally, and the period of his shadowy rule cannot have exceeded a few months; no Egyptian inscriptions of this king are known, but Strack attributes[1] two in Greek to his time.

10.  King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, NETERUI-

[1] See *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 253, where the boy-king is called Ptolemy VII.

ĀĀ-EN-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ÅRI-MAĀT-RĀ-ÅMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH, son of the Sun, lord of crowns (or, risings), PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.

In accordance with the directions of the Roman envoys, and the wish of a considerable party in Alexandria, PTOLEMY IX., surnamed EUERGETES, ascended the throne of Egypt as sole monarch of the country in 146. We have already referred to the principal events of the earlier portion of his life, and how on two occasions he owed his life and his position to his brother's extremely forgiving nature, and how finally he seems to have accepted the inevitable and to have lived in peace, outwardly at least, in the kingdom of Cyrene, which his brother, with the concurrence of the Roman Senate, had set apart for him. When his brother died the same influence removed the difficulty which arose through Cleopatra's having proclaimed her son king of Egypt, and set Ptolemy IX. safely on his brother's throne, and gave him the widow to wife. The marriage appears to have been a purely formal affair, and is to be compared with the marriages which were brought about by the priests in ancient times between those who had obtained the supreme power by conquest and the ladies of the royal houses of Thebes and the priestesses of Åmen, in order to produce a reason for the occupation of the throne by those who, in the opinion of the legitimate heirs, had no right thereto. Many of the Nubian, and Libyan, and Saïte kings of

Egypt had made official marriages in this way, and they had for many centuries been recognized throughout all Egypt as being strictly in accordance with the views both of the priesthood and the people.

As soon as Ptolemy IX. Euergetes became sole king of Egypt he proceeded to take vengeance upon all those who had sided against him before he came to the throne. Large numbers of prominent and wealthy citizens were seized and put to death, and their property was confiscated, and the mercenary troops were allowed to roam through the city and to plunder almost when and where they wished. The king himself was cruel and vindictive, and the outrages of every sort which he and his troops perpetrated were so numerous that at length large numbers of the inhabitants of Alexandria fled from the city in alarm. At the same time he devoted himself to a life of pleasure, and, if we may trust the statements of writers like Justin, made himself thoroughly hated and feared by all classes of the community. A year or two after his marriage with Cleopatra, the widow of Ptolemy VII., he married his niece, who was also called Cleopatra, and who was the daughter of his official wife Cleopatra by her former husband. He is said to have divorced his official wife Cleopatra, and to have given great offence to his subjects by the act, but it is difficult to accept this statement, especially in the face of the evidence of some of the inscriptions, on which he mentions

both Cleopatra his *sister* and Cleopatra his *wife*.[1] It is impossible to assign a date to such inscriptions because we have no evidence on the subject in the texts, but they belong presumably to the early years of the reign of Ptolemy IX. as sole king, and, at all events, to the period which preceded his quarrel with his sister.

As years went on the acts of violence and of cruelty on the part of the king and his mercenaries did not diminish, and at length the discontent of the populace of Alexandria broke out in the form of a revolt (about B.C. 130), during which his palace was burnt down, and he had to seek safety in flight; he managed to escape to Cyprus with his son Memphites, and there he had the mortification of learning that the Alexandrians had made his sister Cleopatra queen of Egypt. To revenge himself upon her he murdered the boy Memphites, and having cut off his head and his hands he packed them in a box and sent them to his sister-wife in Alexandria, and timed their arrival so that they might reach her on her birthday. The partisans of the queen were, of course, enraged beyond measure at this act, and they made preparations for war, but the queen's arms did not prosper, and about two years later Ptolemy IX. was back again in Alexandria, and resumed the rule of the country. Cleopatra his sister meanwhile fled to the court of Demetrius II., king of

[1] Compare *βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνὴ*; Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 253, No. 103.

Syria, to whom she appealed for help. The sympathy of Demetrius took the form of sending an army to Pelusium, but for some reason or other, probably treachery, the expedition was a failure, and the army returned whence it came. Ptolemy IX. retorted by lending his support to the claims of a son of Alexander Balas, called Alexander Zabinas, who was a pretender to the Syrian throne, and as a result Zabinas succeeded in ousting Demetrius II. and became king of Syria under the title of Alexander II. A short time afterwards he incurred the displeasure of his patron, and, strange to relate, Ptolemy IX. became reconciled to his sister, who at once returned to Egypt and took up her old position, and Ptolemy transferred his favour and support from Alexander II. to Antiochus Grypus, the son of Demetrius II., to whom he gave his daughter Tryphaena. By means of the army with which Ptolemy IX. provided him Antiochus Grypus took possession of the throne of Syria, B.C. 127, and thus a daughter of the king of Egypt became queen of Syria. The last years of the life of Ptolemy IX. appear to have been spent in comparative peace, and except the petty revolts which seem to have taken place all over Egypt there was little to trouble him. He died in 117, according to some documents, in the 54th year of his reign, which was dated by their writers from the year when he was first declared king at Alexandria, B.C. 170, and he left a family consisting of two sons and three daughters.

The repairs and restorations of Egyptian temples by Ptolemy IX. may now be mentioned. On the west side of the temple of Khensu at Karnak he set up a small building now known as the Temple of Ȧpet, i.e., of the

Ptolemy IX. piercing a foe in the presence of Ḥeru-Beḥuṭet, lord of Philae.

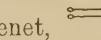
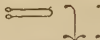
great hippopotamus goddess Ȧpet, , who is described as the "mother of the gods, lady of heaven, mistress "of the two lands, the august goddess dwelling in "Thebes." The walls of the chambers are ornamented

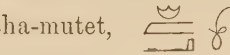
with a series of reliefs in which we see the king and his wife Cleopatra adoring Àpet, Àmen-Rā, and a large number of other gods, and making offerings to them. One of the most important of these is the god Osiris-[1]

Ptolemy IX. and the god Osiris spearing a foe.

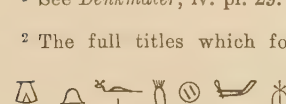
Unnefer, who is depicted in the act of giving a crown to the king; the goddess Àment, , stands behind the king and rests her hand on his shoulder,

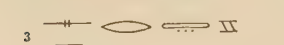
[1] In these texts this god's name is often spelt Uasàr.

and behind the god stand Menthu, Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Thenenet,  , Anit,  , Osiris, Isis, Ḥeru-ur, Nephthys, Horus, Hathor, and Sebek.[1] Elsewhere the king is making offerings, apparently at the bier of Osiris in the presence of Isis, Nephthys, Kek, Keket, and the other gods of this group, and it is clear from these that the birth, life, and death of Osiris were commemorated here at stated intervals during the Ptolemaïc Period.

At Medînet Habu, in Western Thebes, we find reliefs of Ptolemy IX., and here the king and his "royal sister, "the princess, the lady of the two lands, Cleopatra," , are seen making offerings to Khensu, Thoth, the goddess Ḥemāuat within Âa-tcha-mutet,  , i.e., the Coptic ⲭⲓⲙⲉ, near Medînet Habu. The reliefs at this place show us that the king's Horus name was Ḥunnu,[2] and that as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself "Seher âb taui," i.e., making quiet the heart of the two lands,"[3]

[1] See *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 29.

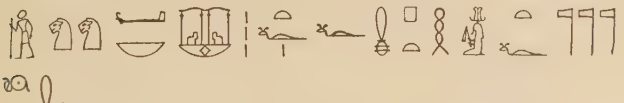
[2] The full titles which follow are: 

[3] 

and that as the Horus of gold he called himself, "Mighty one of two-fold strength, lord of thirty-year festivals like his father Ptaḥ-Tanen, the father of the gods, prince like unto Rā."[1] A little to the north-west of the large temple of Medînet Habu is a small temple, now called Ḳaṣr al-'Agûz,[2] which Ptolemy IX. built to commemorate his ancestors, and on the reliefs we see the king adoring two of them, one a Ptolemy, and the other an Arsinoë. At Dêr al-Baḥarî we find his name and that of his wife Cleopatra; and at El-Kâb he caused a temple to be hewn out of the living rock, but the inscriptions of Ptolemy X. indicate that in his time certain repairs were necessary.

Ḥunnu, the Horus name of Ptolemy IX.

At Edfû Ptolemy IX. brought to an end successfully the building of the temple which had been begun by Ptolemy III. From an inscription on the west wall of the temple we learn that the foundations of the temple were laid in the tenth year of Ptolemy III., i.e., in 237; the walls of the temple proper took about 25 years to build, i.e., they were not finished until the tenth year of Ptolemy IV., B.C. 212.

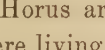
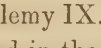
[1] 

[2] I.e., "the Castle of the Old Woman."

The decorations of the walls took six years to complete, and by 207 the great door had been fixed in its place. From that year until the nineteenth year of the reign of Ptolemy V. nothing was done to the building, for the simple reason that the whole of Upper Egypt was in the hands of rebels. Under Ptolemy VII. the work was pressed forward, and in the twenty-eighth[1] year of Ptolemy IX. (B.C. 142) the ornamentation of the temple was declared to be complete. Thus the building of the temple proper of Edfû went on under five reigns, and occupied about ninety-five years, but subsequent Ptolemies added chambers to it, and carried out repairs, and continued the ornamentation of its doors and walls; the last additions made were two brass mounted leaves of the door, which were dedicated by Ptolemy XIII. and his wife Cleopatra V. Tryphaena in the twenty-fifth year of the king's reign, i.e., about B.C. 57. Thus from first to last, the temple and its outer chambers, wall, etc., were not completed under less than 180 years. At the festival of the dedication by Ptolemy IX. the figure of the god Horus, to whom the temple was dedicated, was carried round about in a solemn procession, and was shown all the magnificent works which the Ptolemies had carried out to please him, and according to the inscriptions on the walls, the god was stupefied at the beauty of his dwelling.

[1] All these dates are derived from the paper by Dümichen, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Edfu*, in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1870, pp. 1–13.

The texts very cleverly point out that the temple of the Ptolemies at Edfû occupied the site of an older one, which had been dedicated to the god in primeval times. The first temple, which was built far away back in the time when the gods lived on the earth, was constructed according to a plan that had been made in heaven and then dropped down to earth near the city of Memphis; the master craftsman was I-em-ḥetep, the son of Ptaḥ, the great god of Memphis, and father and son united their powers, and produced the first temple at Edfû in one of the earliest periods of Egyptian history. All this indicates that the site at Edfû was holy ground, probably as far back as the time when the Followers of Horus arrived there and drove out the people who were living in its neighbourhood.

At Kom Ombo Ptolemy IX. rebuilt a wall in the large hall of the temple, and in the reliefs which he added we see him accompanied by his sister-wife Cleopatra, and his wife Cleopatra, making offerings[1] to Sebek, Ḥeru-ur (Aroëris), Sent-nefert,  , and P-neb-taui, the wife and son of Sebek, respectively,  , Hathor, Maāt, Tefnut, Seb, "prince of the gods," , Isis, Nephthys, Khensu, and other gods. In the small hall with columns he carried out repairs and added reliefs and ornamentations to the walls, and the Greek inscription which is found in it says that the hall was

[1] See J. de Morgan, *Kom Ombo*, p. 195 ff.

dedicated to Arocris (Heru-ur), and Apollo, and the other gods of that sanctuary by the king and queen, and the cavalry and infantry that were stationed in the district of Ombos.

Columns at Philae.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

At Philae the king appears as a devotee of the goddess Isis, "lady of Abaton and mistress of the Island of Philae," where he restored and decorated the temple of Isis on a large scale. In the reign of

Ptolemy IX. the temple of Isis was a very popular shrine, and large numbers not only of worshippers but of officials and others broke their journey there, and demanded from the priests hospitality, which they received but never paid for. Monasteries and religious institutions in the East have from time immemorial been liable to this infliction, and the Egyptian sanctuaries formed no exceptions to the rule. At Philae the matter became so serious that at length the priests made representations to the king, and pointed out that the expense of entertaining such officials and others was large, and that the revenues of the temple at Philae were becoming exhausted. Ptolemy IX. caused a reply to be sent to the priests saying that he granted their petition, and then promulgated a decree in which the strategos was ordered to prevent the abuse of hospitality by visitors to Philae in future. Copies of the epistle of the priests, and the king's favourable reply, and his decree [1] were inscribed on the rectangular pedestal of one of the two obelisks which stood one on each side of the entrance to the fore-court of the temple of Isis at Philae. The obelisk belonging to this pedestal was thrown down on the ground at some unknown period, and it was found lying among the ruins, fortunately unbroken, by Mr. J. W. Bankes in 1815. By his suggestion and at his expense the obelisk and pedestal, which are both of red granite, were removed

[1] Convenient transcripts of these will be found in Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 253.

from their site under the supervision of G. Belzoni, and brought to England and set up on Mr. Bankes' estate at Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire. Some claim was laid to the obelisk by M. Drovetti, but as Muḥammad 'Ali gave leave for it to be removed to England the claim was not valid.[1] The obelisk is of special interest, because it is inscribed on each of its

The First Cataract (Little Gate) at the time of the Inundation.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

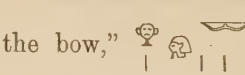
four sides with a column of hieroglyphics, and it was at first thought that these were the equivalent of the Greek inscription on the pedestal, which is, however,

[1] A "geometrical elevation" of the obelisk and pedestal and copies of the inscriptions were published by John Murray for Mr. J. W. Bankes in 1821; a copy of this work will be found in the British Museum (Press-mark, 654-i-4).

not the case; the monument was of great value to Champollion, who succeeded in deducing from it the phonetic values of a number of characters which were until that time unknown, and this assisted him in his work of decipherment.

Proceeding southwards, we find that Ptolemy IX. dedicated a granite shrine in the Egyptian temple which stood near the modern village of Dâbûd, and he built the hall in front of that which Ptolemy IV. added to the little temple of Ârq-Âmen at Dakkeh, in Nubia. We thus see that Ptolemy IX. carried on extensive building operations all over Upper Egypt and a short distance south of Philae. For the sanctuary of Âmen-Rā at Thebes he appears to have had no regard, and there is no evidence that he was at any pains or expense to restore the ancient sanctuaries in the Delta. If we judge by the remains of his buildings and the inscriptions on them we must come to the conclusion that he was a friend of the native Egyptians and of their religion, and it is interesting to note how actively the cult of Osiris and of the gods of his train was revived during the reign of this king. Moreover, special care seems to have been taken by him to bring into prominence the old gods of every place where he built or restored a temple.

About the true character of Ptolemy IX. it is extremely difficult to arrive at a just conclusion, and the same may be said of his home and foreign policies. He was careful to keep on good terms with the Roman

Senate, and he must have had powerful friends among the members of that body, or he would never have obtained the help of Rome in his quarrels with his brother. Polybius takes the view (xxxi. 18) that the Romans with profound policy availed themselves of the mistakes of others to augment and strengthen their own empire, under the guise of granting favours and benefiting those who committed the mistakes, and that they acted in this manner when they interfered in the quarrel of the two brothers. With the king of Syria the relations of the king of Egypt must frequently have been strained, for Ptolemy IX. would never forget that Palestine and Syria had been the possessions of Egypt for centuries, and such a remembrance could not make for peace. He waged no war of any importance, and he made no great conquest, and therefore when the inscriptions speak of him as the "chief of the nine foreign nations of the bow,"  , and the gods are made to promise him the sovereignty over all foreign lands, and to declare that they will set all his enemies beneath his feet, we must remember that phrases of the kind are merely copied from ancient texts and that they are not literally true.

Enough has been said above about buildings to show that Ptolemy IX. was animated with friendly feelings towards the priesthood, and his architectural undertakings were so numerous that he must have been favourably impressed with the religion

of Egypt; but why he should have omitted to restore the ancient temples of the Delta, and of Heliopolis, Abydos, and Thebes it is impossible to say. In common with his ancestors he possessed a love for learning, and he maintained the great Alexandrian Library in a worthy manner; when we remember that Aristarchus of Samothrace, the grammarian and critic, was his tutor, it would be strange indeed if the king had not acquired some respect for learning. Indeed, he himself possessed some literary ability, and wrote a collection of Memoirs in twenty-four books. At one time it is said that he frightened away the greater number of the professors and scholars from Alexandria by means of his atrocious acts, but in spite of this the Library increased and flourished; he seems at all times to have been on good terms with literary men, and in the latter years of his reign a considerable number of them must have lived in his capital.

According to Strabo and Justin, Ptolemy IX. was a very wicked man, and his cruelties made him an object of intense hatred and fear. Polybius tells us (xxxi. 18) that when the dispute between the two Ptolemy brothers was being discussed at Rome Canuleius and Quintus supported Menyllus, the ambassador of the elder Ptolemy, by protesting that "the younger "Ptolemy owed his possession of Cyrene and his very "life to them, so deep was the anger and hatred of the "common people to him." His excesses earned for

him the contempt of all classes, and it is more than probable that, during the fits of debauchery in which he at one time indulged frequently, he really did the atrocious things and ordered the perpetration of the acts of wanton cruelty with which he is charged by the Greek writers. According to Polybius (xxxiv. 14), he had almost exterminated the native Alexandrians, for, being troubled with seditions, he frequently exposed the common people to the fury of the soldiery and caused their destruction. This class of people the writer describes as a "mongrel race," yet, he adds, "they were originally Greek, and have retained some "recollections of Greek principles." The other two classes into which he divides the Alexandrians are :— 1. native Egyptians, and 2. mercenary soldiers. The former he considered "an acute and civilized race," and the latter he regarded as men "who have learnt "to rule rather than obey owing to the feeble character "of the kings."

It is impossible to acquit Ptolemy IX. of many of his crimes,[1] but in passing judgment upon him

[1] "Ptolemy Physcon, the brother of Philometor, began his reign "most wickedly; for charging many with plots against his life, he "put them all to death, with most cruel torments, others for pre- "tended crimes invented by himself he banished, and confiscated "their estates: by which cruelties, in a short time, his subjects "were so enraged, that they all hated him mortally; however, he "reigned fifteen years. But in Egypt, king Ptolemy for his "cruelty, was hated by all his subjects: for his manners were not "to be compared with his brother Philometor's; for he was of a "mild and gentle nature, but the other fierce and cruel; and

at this late period of the world's history we must remember that his critics were Greeks who had not as much sympathy with the Egyptians as he had, and who did not understand the Egyptians as well as he did, and that many of his deeds which were abhorred by the Greeks were not regarded with detestation by the Egyptians. When he was called to the throne by the Alexandrians in 171 the descendants of Lagus

"therefore the people longed for a change, and earnestly waited "for a fit opportunity to revolt. At the time when Ptolemy, "(after the solemn manner of the Aegyptians), was enthroned at "Memphis, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a son, at which "he exceedingly rejoiced, and called him Memphites, because he "was born in the city of Memphis, at the time of his solemn "inauguration. But while he was celebrating his son's birthday, "he forgot not his usual cruelty, for he ordered some of Cyrene, "(who had brought him into Ægypt), to be put to death, because "they rebuked him something too freely, upon the account of the "strumpet Irene. Ptolemy, for his cruelty, murders, filthy lusts, "and deformed body, (whence he was called Physco), was hated by "all. But Hierax his general being an expert soldier, and popular "in all general assemblies, and a man of a great spirit, took upon "him the government: for when Ptolemy wanted money, and the "soldiers for want of pay were ready to revolt to Galaestes, he put "a stop to their mutiny by paying off their arrears out of his own "purse. The Aegyptians altogether condemned Ptolemy when "they saw him so childish in his speeches, drowned in filthy "lusts, and his body emasculated by intemperance" (Diodorus, *Extracts*, Bk. xxvi., Nos. 98, 102, 103, 109, 110). On the other hand, we read, "When Marsyas was brought before the king, and "all concluded that he would forthwith put him to some cruel "death, Ptolemy pardoned him, beyond all men's expectation: "for now he began to repent of his former cruelties, and "endeavoured to regain the people's love and favour by acts of "clemency" (*Idem.*, Bk. xxxiv., No. 17).

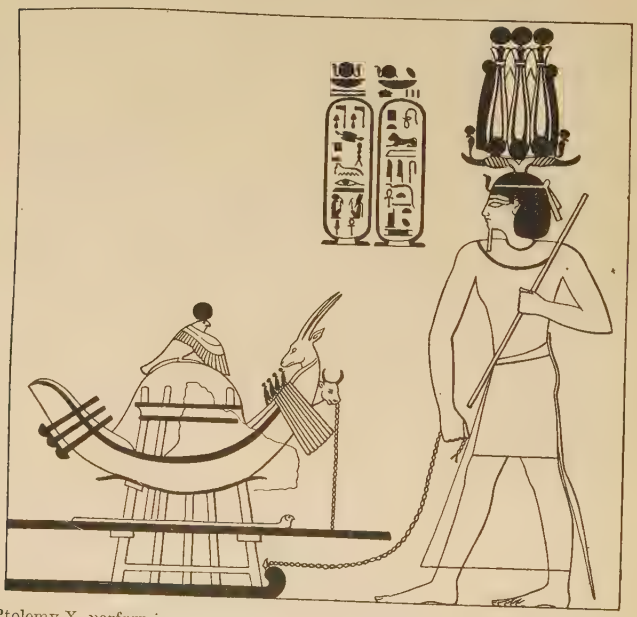
had occupied the throne of Egypt for about 140 years, and whilst their followers had remained Greeks they themselves had with each generation become more and more like the Egyptians. We see from the inscriptions of the reign of Ptolemy IX. that the gods of Greece were assimilated with those of Egypt, and that the temples which he built or restored were erected in honour not of Greek but of Egyptian gods. His individual acts may have been cruel, and his life one series of debaucheries, but there was at least no invasion of Egypt proper during his reign; and the nation must have been prosperous, otherwise the works connected with the building and restoration of temples could not have gone on in Upper Egypt. On the whole, his reign was successful and peaceful, and the country did not again enjoy so long a period of comparative repose until it had become a province of the Roman Empire.

11. King of the South and North, NETER-MENKH-NETER-MENKHET-MĀT-S-MERI-ĀĀ-NETCH-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ÀRI-MAĀT-RĀ-ÀMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH, son of the Sun, lord of risings, PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.

PTOLEMY X., SOTER II., surnamed LATHYRUS, was the son of Ptolemy IX. by his wife and niece Cleopatra;

his exact age at the time when he ascended the throne (B.C. 117) is unknown, but he cannot have been a very young man when his father died. According to Justin (xxxix. 3) and Pausanias (i. 9), Cleopatra, surnamed COCCE, made an arrangement with her husband whereby she was to rule Egypt after his death, and in virtue of this, and with the consent of the people of Alexandria, the queen became sole mistress of the country after the death of Ptolemy IX. Cleopatra wished to associate with herself in the rule of the kingdom her youngest son Ptolemy XI., Alexander I., but this the people would not permit, and she was obliged to relinquish her project, and to elect his brother Ptolemy X., Soter II., as her co-regent. Ptolemy X. had married his sister Cleopatra some years before his co-regency, but for some reason his mother insisted on his putting her away and taking his younger sister SELENE to wife in her place. At the same time she sent her son Ptolemy XI. to Cyprus (B.C. 114) and gave him the rank of king, and apparently permission to consider the Island as his own kingdom absolutely. For some years Cleopatra and her eldest son governed Egypt in harmony, but the above-mentioned writers and Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 10, 2, 4) tell us that they eventually quarrelled seriously over the policy which was to be followed in respect of the Jews. Cleopatra had made two Jews called Chelcias and Ananias commanders in the army of Egypt, and she took no action in military matters without consulting them, and it was not likely

therefore that she would support her son's attempt to send help to Antiochus Cyzicenus, who was at that time engaged in fighting the Jews in Syria. Chelcias and Ananias were the sons of Onias, "who built the "temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like that at



Ptolemy X. performing a ceremony in connexion with drawing the Hennu Boat of the god Seker round the Sanctuary.

"Jerusalem," and were supported by a rich and powerful party, which, naturally, took the part of the queen against her son. The breach between the co-regents widened, and at length Cleopatra succeeded in persuading the Alexandrians that her life was in danger

through a conspiracy on the part of her son, and Ptolemy X. had to leave Egypt and take up his abode in Cyprus. Cleopatra then summoned her younger son, Ptolemy XI., to Egypt and appointed him co-regent, whereupon Ptolemy X. made himself master of Cyprus, and succeeded in maintaining a firm hold upon the Island for many years, in spite of his mother's attempts to dethrone him.

Whilst Ptolemy X. was in Cyprus the inhabitants of the city of Ptolemaïs sent and asked him to help them against Alexander Iannaeus, the king of the Jews, who was besieging them with a large army; it was useless to appeal either to Antiochus Philometor or to Antiochus Cyzicenus, for each was fighting the other for the crown of Syria. Ptolemy, being persuaded that he would be helped by the people of Gaza and by Zoilus, who was master of Strato's Tower and Dora, got his fleet ready, and sailed for Syria, where he landed his army 30,000 strong at Sycamine. Meanwhile, however, the people of Ptolemaïs had been induced by one Demetrius to change their opinions, and they would have nothing to do with Ptolemy. But notwithstanding this Alexander Iannaeus raised the siege and withdrew his army, and set to work to destroy Ptolemy's army by fraud, as he could not do it by force. He wrote to Cleopatra secretly and invited her to march against her son, but at the same time he induced Ptolemy by a promise of 400 talents of silver to drive away Zoilus and to give his

territory to the Jews. At length, however, the double-dealing of Iannaeus became known to Ptolemy, and he straightway attacked him, and besieged Ptolemaïs, and set out to lay waste Judea. Iannaeus collected an army of 50,000 or 80,000 men, and went to meet Ptolemy with them. Ptolemy first took Asochis, a city of

Ptolemy X. and his wife Cleopatra making offerings to the god Horus.

Galilee, and captured 10,000 slaves and much spoil, and then attacked Sepphoris, but lost many men in the attack. The armies of Ptolemy and Iannaeus next fought a pitched battle at Saphoth, near the Jordan, (B.C. 103); the soldiers on both sides fought with great bravery, but at length the Jews yielded and fled,

and they were pursued and killed until the arms of their pursuers were wearied and their iron weapons blunted. Some say that Iannaeus lost 30,000 killed, and others 50,000, but in any case the slaughter was great. Ptolemy then laid waste the country and took Ptolemaïs, and Josephus says (*Antiq.* xiii. 12) that when he came to villages filled with women and children he had them strangled, and cut up in pieces, and boiled, and devoured as sacrifices, so that the people might imagine that his soldiers were cannibals and be the more afraid of them. This is probably an utterly mendacious statement.

At this juncture Cleopatra became afraid lest her son should invade Egypt, and she therefore sent an army to besiege Ptolemaïs. Meanwhile Ptolemy made an attack on Egypt, but failed, and so retreated first to Gaza and finally to Cyprus. The troubles in Syria were, however, not at an end, and Cleopatra and her son Ptolemy X. still found themselves at variance, the former supporting Antiochus Grypus, who had married the Egyptian princess Tryphaena, and the latter aiding Antiochus Cyzicenus.

About B.C. 101 Cleopatra was murdered by her son Ptolemy XI., whom, it is said, she was planning to kill. Soon after this murder a great riot or rebellion broke out in Alexandria for some unknown cause, and the matricide was obliged to fly with his wife and daughter first to Lycia and secondly to Cyprus, but he was pursued by troops from Egypt, and was

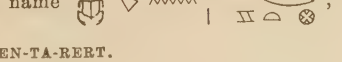
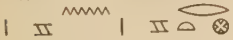
either killed in a fight by land or sea, or murdered by Chaereas (B.C. 88). As soon as the death of Ptolemy XI. became known the Alexandrians recalled Ptolemy X. from Cyprus, where he had reigned in comparative peace from 107 to 89 (or 88), or for a period of about eighteen years. His reign as sole king of Egypt lasted for seven and a half years, i.e., until B.C. 81, and during this period the only serious disturbance which took place was in connexion with the revolt of the Thebaïd. The causes which brought about this revolt are unknown, but the rising, no doubt, took place in connexion with the growing power of the Nubian kingdom, of which two of the kings, Ârq-Âmen and Âtchakhar-Âmen, had styled themselves kings of the South and North, and had applied to themselves the titles which at that time belonged to the Ptolemies alone. Preparations seem to have been made for the rebellion some time before it took place, for the city of Thebes resisted the forces of Ptolemy X. for two whole years, and it was not until the third year of the revolt that it was put down. When the city fell it seems to have been given over to pillage and destruction, and its people were well nigh blotted off the earth; the temples were, of course, pillaged, and it seems that Ptolemy's troops took vengeance of a most terrible character upon them. To all intents and purposes the city as such ceased to exist.

About one year after Ptolemy returned from Cyprus to rule Egypt Lucullus was sent, or at all events came,

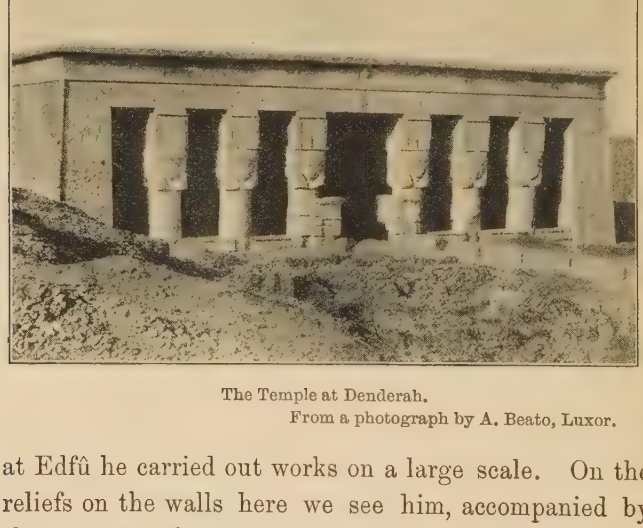
to the country with the view of obtaining the help of the Egyptian fleet, but although he was received by the king with great respect and ceremony he did not succeed in persuading him to take any part in the Mithradatic war (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, § 2 and 3). Ptolemy remained on terms of friendship with the Athenians, who, according to Pausanias (i. 9), set up bronze statues of himself and his daughter Berenice as a mark of their appreciation of the kindnesses which he had shown them.

The descriptions of the character of Ptolemy X. given by ancient writers do not agree; some regard his life and acts as good when compared with those of his mother and brother, whilst others consider that theirs have been considerably misrepresented and blackened in order that his may appear in a more favourable light. It is quite clear that he was not one of the worst of the Ptolemies, and if we were to judge only by his temple-buildings in Egypt, it would be difficult not to describe him as a good and gracious king.

The building operations undertaken by him were limited to Upper Egypt. At the temple of Denderah,[1] which was dedicated to the goddess Hathor, his name appears in connexion with some of the crypts; at

[1] The Arab name Denderah, like the Coptic ⲦⲈⲔⲈⲦⲞⲢⲈ, is derived from the old Egyptian name  , or  TA-EN-TA-RERT.

Madamût, near Thebes, he made some additions to the temple, wherein, among other deities, the goddess Ápet was worshipped; at Medînet Habu he restored the temple and a pylon built by Tirhâḳâh, a Nubian king of the XXVth Dynasty, and added inscriptions thereto;[1] he restored and added new inscriptions to the rock temple built by Ptolemy IX. at El-Kâb; and



The Temple at Denderah.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

at Edfû he carried out works on a large scale. On the reliefs on the walls here we see him, accompanied by the "queen, the lady of the two lands, Cleopatra," , making offerings to Horus of Beḥuṭet, to Horus, the great one on

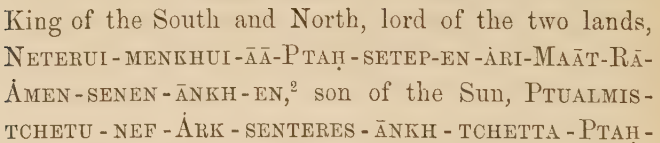
[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 40.

his pedestal, to Khensu, and to the lioness-headed goddess Seqebet, . On the first pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae is a relief in which the king is seen to be making an offering to the goddess Isis of a field, , i.e., an estate for the endowment of the temple, and he is there accompanied by Cleopatra

Part of the outside wall of the Temple of Denderah.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

his mother and Cleopatra his wife. At Kalâbshah figures of the king appear in the reliefs of a small temple, which he appears to have built, near the great temple, and a number of broken, inscribed slabs lying in several places prove that his repairs on the large temple were not inconsiderable. At the Oasis of

Khârga are the remains of a small temple, now known as Ḳaṣr al-Gehda,[1] which was built by Ptolemy III., but on the fragments of the walls which remain may still be seen the cartouches of Ptolemy IV. and of Ptolemy X. The repairs and additions made to the temples mentioned above were probably all carried out during the period of Ptolemy Xth's joint rule with his mother Cleopatra, i.e., between B.C. 117 and 106, for it is most unlikely that after his return to Egypt in 88 he would carry out such works in Upper Egypt, especially as he was for more than two years engaged in crushing a rebellion at Thebes.

12. 

King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, NETERUI-MENKHUI-ĀĀ-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ÀRI-MAĀT-RĀ-ÀMEN-SENEN-ĀNKH-EN,[2] son of the Sun, PTUALMIS-TCHETU-NEF-ÀRK-SENTERES-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-MERI.[3]

PTOLEMY XI., surnamed ALEXANDER I., was the younger son of Ptolemy IX., Euergetes II., by his wife

[1] See Ball, *Kharga Oasis*, p. 68.

[2] I.e., "Of the two well-doing gods the heir, chosen one of Ptaḥ, doer of the law of Rā, living image of Àmen."

[3] I.e., "Ptolemy, who is called Alexander, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ."

Cleopatra. After his father's death his mother wished to associate him with her in the rule of the kingdom, but the Alexandrians would not allow her to carry out her plan, and she was obliged to make his brother Ptolemy X. co-regent. Ptolemy XI. was sent to Cyprus in 117, and in 114 he began to call himself king of Cyprus, presumably with the consent and approval of his mother. About B.C. 106 his brother, having been accused of plotting against his mother's life, had to flee from Egypt, whereupon Ptolemy XI. was promptly recalled, and made co-regent in his brother's stead. About this time he adopted a Horus name and titles in which he incorporated the names of the gods Ptaḥ and Apis,[1] and styled himself the "pacifier of the heart of the two lands,"[2] and the "great-hearted one."[3] In 103 his brother overran Judea, and Cleopatra, fearing that he would invade Egypt, placed Ptolemy XI. in command of the Egyptian fleet and ordered him to go and attack Phoenicia by sea, whilst she despatched an army against her eldest son to overthrow him by land. The queen must have been anxious about the result of her expedition, for she took care to despatch "the "greater part of her riches,[4] her grandchildren, and her

1 .

2 .

3 .

[4] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii. 13, § 1.

"testament to the people of Cos" before she set out on it. A year or two later dissension broke out between Cleopatra and Ptolemy XI., as formerly it had broken out between her and his elder brother, and he thought it wise to leave Egypt; Cleopatra being, it seems, afraid that her two sons would join forces and depose her, sent to her younger son a messenger, who succeeded in inducing him to return to Egypt. The relations between mother and son did not improve on his return, and it is said that Ptolemy XI. was afraid of being put to death by his mother, and therefore planned and caused to be carried out her murder, which took place about B.C. 101. It appears that the news of the murder of Cleopatra did not become generally known for some time, but when it was ascertained by the Alexandrians that the queen was really dead and that the younger son and his wife were ruling in her stead there was great discontent among them. Cleopatra was, it is true, an unscrupulous and a masterful woman, but she possessed at the same time great ability, and was popular with the army, and at length the soldiery, voicing the general dissatisfaction of the people, declared that they would not have Ptolemy XI. as king, and he had to fly from Alexandria. After an unsuccessful attempt to regain his position in Egypt by force, the troops which he had raised for the purpose were defeated in a fight at sea, and he himself was obliged to fly to Lycia. When his brother was recalled from Cyprus to rule over Egypt, Ptolemy

Menthu, the great god, the dweller within Beḥuṭet, presenting "life" to Ptolemy XI.

XI. tried to invade the Island with a number of fresh troops, but they were defeated and he was either killed in the fight at sea or put to death by Chaereas, about B.C. 89. It is impossible to arrive at any just estimate of the character of Ptolemy XI. because we have no exact knowledge of the part which he took in the rule of the kingdom when he was co-regent with his mother, and because ancient writers have not furnished any account of his acts when he was sole king. It is, however, tolerably certain that he played a subordinate part as co-regent, and that he was obliged to concur in the policy of his mother, whether he approved or not; all that can be said of him is that if he was less wicked than his predecessors he certainly did less good.

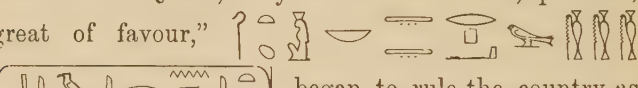
The building operations which were carried out by him were practically limited to the temple of Edfû, where he completed one of the courts and added reliefs to it, and built a portion of the great girdle wall which measured 240 cubits, by 90 cubits, by 20 cubits, by 5 cubits at the foundations, i.e., the wall measured about 410 feet by 85 feet, by 31 feet, and it was about 6 feet thick at the foundations. In the reliefs we see the god Menthu, , hawk-headed, touching the lips of the king with the symbol of life, and Thoth bearing a tablet for him; elsewhere he kneels before Rā-Harmachis and Isis, whilst Nekhebet and Uatchet bring him the crowns of the South and North respectively, and the goddess Sesheta, , decrees for him

countless festival periods.[1] When we consider the large number of the years of the co-regency of Ptolemy XI. it is remarkable that his architectural works are so few. It is, of course, possible that a number of buildings carried out for him have been destroyed, but it is unlikely, especially when we remember how much of the work of Ptolemy XIII. has been preserved. We can therefore only conclude that, for some reason or other, the works on the temples, which usually went on almost automatically under the Ptolemies in Upper Egypt, were suspended at Philae and other sacred sites during the reign of Ptolemy XI.

During the reign of Ptolemy XI., Ptolemy Apion, the natural son of Ptolemy IX., surnamed Physcon, died, and bequeathed the kingdom of Cyrene, to which his father had appointed him, to the Romans. His death is said to have taken place about B.C. 97. As far as can be seen the successors of his father allowed their right to the country to lapse, and the Romans took no steps to profit by the generosity of the Egyptian prince.

The next occupant of the throne of Egypt was PTOLEMY XII., who was surnamed ALEXANDER II.; he was born about 105, and was the son of Ptolemy XI. Alexander I. by an unknown mother. When quite a child, i.e., between 103 and 101, he was sent away from Alexandria to the Island of Cos by his grandmother Cleopatra III., who feared an attack on Egypt by her son Ptolemy X.; with the child she sent most of her

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 45.

treasure, thinking that Cos would be a safer place for both than Egypt. Here the boy remained until about B.C. 88, and when the island was captured by Mithradates the Great he became the prisoner of that famous man, who treated him honourably and kindly. Shortly afterwards, he managed to make his escape from Mithradates, and fled to Sulla for protection, and he lived in Rome with him until the death of Ptolemy X. Lathyrus. As soon as this event took place Cleopatra-Berenice III., the daughter of Ptolemy X., who is known as "Queen, lady of the two lands, princess, great of favour,"  , began to rule the country as sole monarch, but the Alexandrians were dissatisfied at this state of affairs, and it is said that an influential party among them sent representations to Rome and asked that Ptolemy XII. Alexander II. might be sent to rule over them. Meanwhile Ptolemy XII. had made himself a great favourite with Sulla, and as soon as the request was made it was granted, but in order to soothe the feelings of Cleopatra-Berenice III. an arrangement was made whereby the new king was to marry his stepmother. When Ptolemy XII. arrived in Egypt he did what was expected of him, and married his stepmother; but when the king and his wife had reigned jointly for nineteen days the queen was murdered by her husband, and the soldiers were so greatly enraged at this cruel act that they rose up against Ptolemy XII., and,

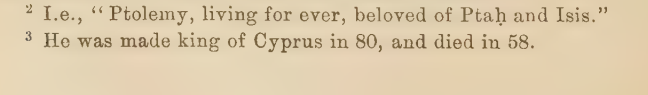
having dragged him through the town, they put him to death without mercy.

With the death of Ptolemy XII. the legitimate line of the Ptolemies came to an end. Certain ancient writers[1] have preserved a tradition to the effect that an Alexander, who was king of Egypt, bequeathed by will his country and its possessions to Rome, but modern historians are divided in their opinions as to which Alexander is the testator referred to, some believing him to be Ptolemy XI. Alexander I., and others Ptolemy XII. Alexander II. The eminent authority Strack[2] is evidently in favour of regarding Ptolemy XII. Alexander II. as the testator, and until proof to the contrary is forthcoming this view must be accepted. After the murder of Ptolemy by the Alexandrian soldiery the Romans made no attempt to enter into the inheritance of the kingdom of Egypt, which is said to have been left to them, probably because they were uncertain as to the validity of the testament, and because they felt that Egypt must fall into their hands at no distant date. Meanwhile the shameful murder of Cleopatra-Berenice III. by Ptolemy XII., and the murder of himself by the soldiery had put an end to all legitimate claimants to the throne of Egypt, and the next successor to the kingdom was Ptolemy XIII., who is commonly known as Auletes.

[1] See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 392

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

13. , King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, P-NETER-ENTI-ĀĀ-EN-NEḤEM-PTAḤ-SETEP-EN-ÀRI-MAĀT-EN-RĀ-ÀMEN-SEKHEM-ĀNKH,[1] son of the Sun, lord of crowns, PTUALMIS-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-PTAḤ-ÀST-MERI.[2]

PTOLEMY XIII., who was surnamed PHILOPATOR PHILADELPHUS, and called himself NEOS DIONYSOS, and was nicknamed by the people AULETES or the "piper," was a natural son of Ptolemy X. His claims to the throne of Egypt, like those of his brother[3] Ptolemy, who was also a natural son of Ptolemy X., were considered unimportant as long as a legitimate heir could be found, but after the murder of Ptolemy XII. a sufficiently powerful party formed itself at Alexandria, and succeeded in causing the people generally to acknowledge Ptolemy XIII. as king. He was born about 95, he became king of Egypt in 80, and died in 51. He married two wives, the first being his sister (?) Cleopatra V., surnamed Tryphaena, who is described in the hieroglyphic inscriptions as "lady of the two lands,"  ,

[1] I.e., "Heir of the god who delivereth, the chosen one of Ptaḥ, performer of the Law of Rā, living image of Àmen."

[2] I.e., "Ptolemy, living for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ and Isis."

[3] He was made king of Cyprus in 80, and died in 58.

Sepulchral stele of the lady Th-I-em-hetep, the sister and wife of Pi-shere-en-Ptaḥ, and high priestess of Memphis, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy XIII. Philapator III. Philadelphus II. Neos Dionysos. The deceased is seen adoring Seker-Osiris, Apis-Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Ḥeru-netch-tef-f, Anubis, etc.

and the second being a lady of unknown name and antecedents. He appears to have married Cleopatra V. Tryphaena in 78, and she probably died about 69 or 68; by her he had two daughters, namely, Cleopatra VI. Tryphaena, and Berenice IV. By his second wife he had four children, namely, Arsinoë IV., who was born between 68 and 65, and was murdered in 41; Ptolemy XIV., who was born in 61 and who married his sister Cleopatra VII.; Ptolemy XV., who was born two years later, and who also married his sister Cleopatra VII.; and Cleopatra VII., who was born in 69, and who married her two brothers Ptolemy XIV. and Ptolemy XV. in 51 and 47 respectively, and who also was the mistress of Julius Caesar and of Mark Antony.[1]

As soon as Ptolemy XIII. ascended the throne he took steps to put himself in a favourable light before the Roman Senate in order to secure the recognition, if not confirmation, of his position by that body; but the matter was a difficult one, for the Romans appear to have regarded Egypt as a country which they could claim when they pleased, and they were in no hurry to ratify the appointment of a king who had been placed upon the throne by the soldiery of Alexandria. In 59 he succeeded in gaining recognition from Julius Caesar. According to Dion Cassius

HUNNU-NEFER, the Horus name of Ptolemy XIII.

[1] Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, pp. 69 and 70.

(xxxix. 12), he gave large bribes to various Romans in power, but in order to obtain money for this purpose he was obliged to resort to violence, and to compel the Egyptians to pay additional taxes. This caused him to be hated in his own country, and he had many enemies in Rome because he would not yield up Cyprus to the Romans. At length the strife between the king and his people became so serious that he fled to Rome (B.C. 58), where he told the Senate that he had been expelled from his country. Meanwhile the Alexandrians thought he was dead, and as his queen Cleopatra V. Tryphaena died during his absence, they made his daughter Berenice IV. their queen, and when they learned the truth they sent one hundred envoys to Rome to represent their case, and to tell the Senate how cruel and unjust their king had been to them.

When Ptolemy heard of the coming of the envoys, he plotted their destruction, and caused numbers of the deputies to be killed on the road, and many to be assassinated in Rome itself, and he so terrified the remainder that they did not carry out the object of their mission. The report of what Ptolemy had done became noised abroad, however, and a party in the Senate, headed by M. Favonius, tried to bring the guilty agents to justice, but Ptolemy bribed right and left, and though a great outcry was made the number of people condemned was very small. Ptolemy had been received into the house of Pompey, and was greatly helped thereby. When he first arrived in

Rome he was fortunate enough to gain the support of Cicero, and it was chiefly through the speech which the famous orator made on his behalf that the Senate passed a decree ordering his restoration, which was to be carried out by P. L. Spinther, governor of Cilicia. But when the murders of the envoys became known, the Romans consulted the Sibylline Books as to the course which they should follow, and the answer they gave was to the effect that friendship was not to be denied to the king of Egypt if he asked for it, but they were not to give him troops to help him, otherwise they would have to endure fatigues and dangers.[1] On this the Romans became divided in their opinions, and some wanted Spinther to take Ptolemy back without an army, and others to send him back with two lictors, under the charge of Pompey, which the king himself had asked for as soon as he learned what the Sibylline Books had answered. To neither of these propositions did the Senate agree, and at length Ptolemy left Rome and went to Ephesus, where he lived in the temple of Diana. Now whilst he was in Rome his daughter Berenice had been made queen in the room of her mother, and the Alexandrians had obtained for her two husbands (B.C. 56), the first being Seleucus Kybiosaktes, and the second Archelaus, the son of the general of Mithradates. Berenice sent away Seleucus after a very

[1] Ἂν ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς βοηθείας τινὸς δεύμενος ἔλθῃ, τὴν μὲν φιλίαν οἱ μὴ ἀπαρνήσασθε, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πλήθει τινὶ ἐπικουρήσητε. Εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἕξετε. (Dion Cassius, xxxix. 15.)

few days, but she approved of Archelaus and reigned with him for a few months.

About this time Ptolemy XIII. made friends with A. Gabinius, the governor of Syria, and being supported by the warm recommendations of Pompey, succeeded in obtaining his help. Pompey, in spite of the decree of the Senate, and of the words of the Sibylline Books, wrote and told Gabinius to reinstate Ptolemy in Egypt, whereupon Gabinius set aside his projected expedition against the Parthians, and began to march upon Egypt (Dion Cassius, xxxix. 57 ff.). Gabinius reached Pelusium without difficulty, and soon after defeated the Egyptians of the Delta in two battles on land and one at sea. In due course the soldiery of Alexandria was beaten, and Archelaus, the husband of Berenice, was slain; Gabinius thus became conqueror of Egypt, and he used his right of conquest to restore Ptolemy XIII. to the throne. Service of this sort had to be heavily paid for, and it is said that Gabinius was rewarded for his help and friendship with a gift of 6000 or 10,000 talents. The restoration of Ptolemy XIII. took place early in 55, and the first use he made of his power was to slay his daughter Berenice and a considerable number of the wealthiest citizens of Alexandria, partly to gratify his lust for revenge, and partly to obtain money wherewith to reward Gabinius and others who had helped him. He lived for about three and a half years after his restoration, and during this period riots were of frequent occurrence in the country; they were,

however, promptly put down by the Roman soldiers, and Ptolemy XIII. was able to live, comparatively, in peace.

The character given to this king by ancient writers is a very bad one, and there seems to be no doubt that, as Strabo says (xvii. 1. § 11), he was one of the three worst of the Ptolemies. He was addicted to every kind of vice and debauchery, and in fits of drunken passion he seems to have perpetrated some terrible crimes. He is said to have called himself Neos Dionysos as an excuse for his drunkenness, and the people nick-named him "Auletes" or "Piper," on account of his love for playing upon the flute. He must have been a skilled performer on the instrument, for at the concerts which he established he competed with professionals for the prize; actions of this kind may have been very entertaining to the spectators, but they hardly contributed to the maintenance of the dignity of the occupant of the throne of the Pharaohs of old. He can be best described as a clumsy prototype of Nero.

During the reign of Ptolemy XIII. the repair and decoration of several temples was carried out. At Denderah he was connected with the ornamentation of some of the crypts, and the bas-reliefs and sculptures which belong to his reign are of considerable interest; at Coptos he dedicated a large black basalt altar to the god of the city, Ȧmsu, or Min, and his name was found upon a number of blocks[1] there in the temple,

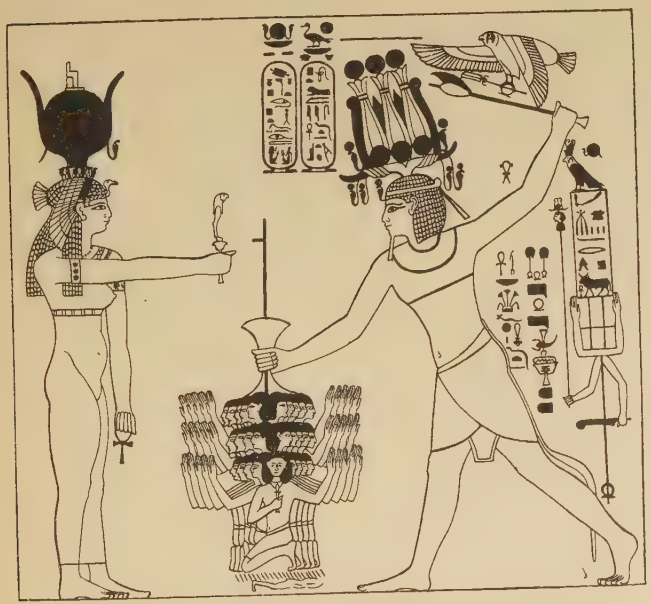
[1] See Petrie, *Coptos*, p. 22.

for which his ancestor, Ptolemy II., had done so much. His name is found on the walls of the temple at Karnak, and on those of the temple of Madamût, and also on the remains of the temple of Ápet, built by Ptolemy IX. and Ptolemy X. An inscription on the pylon and colonnade of the fore-court of the temple at Edfû relates that the copper-plated doors were hung on the first day of the fourth month of the season Shat, in the 25th year of the reign of Ptolemy XIII., and of his wife Cleopatra V. Tryphaena, i.e., B.C. 57. This inscription is of very great interest, for it shows that, as has been said before, the work on the temples went on almost automatically, and almost without reference to the king. At the time when this inscription was cut Ptolemy XIII. was in Rome, whither he had been obliged to fly from the fury of the Alexandrians,[1] and he therefore knew nothing about the erection of the doors, and was certainly not present at the dedication ceremony, if one was performed. On one of the pylons are scenes in which the king is seen slaying his foes in the presence of Horus of Beḥuṭet and Hathor, and hauling with chains into position two pillars and two obelisks.

At Kôm Ombo the king added a "hypostyle

[1] "Having thus conciliated popular favour, he endeavoured, "through his interest with some of the tribunes, to get Egypt "assigned to him as a province, by an act of the people. The "pretext . . . was, that the Alexandrians had violently expelled "their king, whom the Senate had complimented with the title of "ally and friend of the Roman people." Suetonius, *Caesar*, xi.

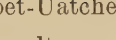
pronaos," wherein was a number of columns about 6½ feet in diameter; as the name of Cleopatra V. Tryphaena occurs often in the inscription it is clear that this portion of the temple must have been built before her death, which took place



Ptolemy XIII. Auletes slaying his foes in the presence of Isis, who holds in her right hand a papyrus sceptre surmounted by a figure of Horus.

B.C. 69. In the bas-reliefs here the king is seen offering a bow and two arrows to the goddess Sept, ,[1] while the local gods Ḥeru-ur (Aroëris), and

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. (Ptolemy XIII.).

Nekhebet-Uatchet, who is represented by a snake-headed vulture, and Ḥorus-Sept, , and Thet-sen-nefer,  , and Pe-neb-taui, , promise in the text to give him sovereignty and the gifts which are usually given to kings by the gods. In the bas-reliefs which the king added to the pylon and other portions of the temple of Isis at Philae he stands in an attitude of adoration before Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, Ḥeru-netch-tef-f, Horus of Beḥuṭet, and Khnemu, and in one large scene he is clubbing his foes in the presence of Isis, Horus, and Hathor in the most orthodox Egyptian manner. Behind the king is one of his Horus names inscribed on a standard supported by his *ka*, , or double, and resting upon a pair of hands and arms, in one of which he holds a sceptre and in the other the feather of Maāt, . His club is furnished with a semi-circular axe-head, and the goddess Isis presents to him a small hawk-headed figure mounted upon a papyrus sceptre. Some of the figures which appear on the walls at Philae in honour of Ptolemy XIII. were sculptured over inscriptions that date from the reign of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes; the priests who permitted such an act of vandalism must have been very jealous for the honour

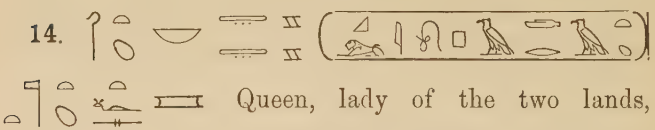
TCHESER-MES-KHĀU-HE[T]ER-HĀP, a Horus name of Ptolemy XIII.

of their king! The cartouches of Ptolemy XIII. have been found at several places in the neighbourhood, but there is no evidence that his representatives did anything to any temple except add bas-reliefs in which figures of himself and his cartouches were the most prominent characteristics.

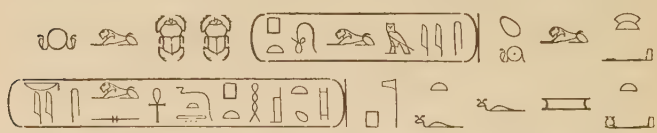
When he died (B.C. 51) he left his kingdom by will to his daughter Cleopatra VII., and to his elder son PTOLEMY XIV., surnamed Dionysos, who was to marry his sister; three years later (B.C. 48) a violent dispute broke out between the brother and sister, who had reigned jointly until that time, and Cleopatra was obliged to leave Egypt. In 47 Caesar sent troops to support her claims, and as a result her brother's forces were defeated with great slaughter. Ptolemy XIV. was accidentally drowned in crossing a river whilst trying to escape. The same year Cleopatra married her second brother, who was at that time a boy of about eleven years of age; he reigned jointly with her as PTOLEMY XV. for about two years, when he was murdered by Cleopatra, who wished to make way for her son PTOLEMY XVI., who was surnamed CAESAR, and who is also known as CAESARION. The details of these events, which are only briefly noticed in this paragraph, are described more fully in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

CLEOPATRA VII. AND PTOLEMY XVI. CAESAR.

14. 

Queen, lady of the two lands, QLÀUAPAṬRAT, divine daughter, her father loving.



King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, PTUALMIS, son of the Sun, lord of risings, KISERES-(CAESAR)-ānkh-tchetta-Ptaḥ-Ást-meri, the god his father loving, his mother loving.

CLEOPATRA VII. TRYPHAENA was the daughter of Ptolemy XIII. Auletes, by a woman whose name and antecedents are unknown; she was born in the winter of 69. Sometime before her father died he made a will to the effect that the elder of his two sons and the elder of his two daughters were to be

his heirs, and for the more effectual performance of his intention in the same will he conjured the Roman people by all the gods, and by the league which he had entered into at Rome, to see his will executed. One of the copies of his will was conveyed to Rome by his ambassadors to be deposited in the treasury, but since the public troubles prevented this, it was lodged with Pompey; another was left sealed up and kept at Alexandria.[1] Thus at the age of seventeen Cleopatra became co-regent with her brother Ptolemy XIV., whom she married, and she seems at once to have followed the example of the great Ptolemaïc queens, and to have made herself virtually sole monarch of Egypt.

KA-NEKHT-KHU-SATU-RA-ÁÀH, the Horus name of Ptolemy XVI.

As she began, so she went on, for although she always had a man associated with her nominally in the rule of the country, his views were only allowed to assume a practical form when they agreed with hers, and she was the real master of the country. On account of the youth of Ptolemy XIV., who was eight years younger than his sister, he had been placed under the care of Achillas, who was to educate him, and of the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his financial affairs.[2] When the brother and

[1] Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. chap. 108.

[2] Appian, *B. C.* ii. 84.

sister had reigned jointly for two or three years, a dispute broke out, it is said, between Cleopatra and the eunuch Pothinus; Ptolemy XIV. supported his chancellor against his sister, and in the end Cleopatra had to fly from Egypt. She went to Syria, where she seems to have had friends, and in a very short time she collected an army, at the head of which she intended to march to Egypt in order to bring her brother to reason. The ease with which the Ptolemaïc queens and princesses raised armies suggests that they always had a large supply of ready money at hand.

Meanwhile Ptolemy XIV. gathered together a large army, and pitched his camp near Mount Casius on the Egyptian border, where he waited for his sister to attack him. He had in his army a large number of Pompey's soldiers[1] whom Gabinius had brought over from Syria to Egypt, and left in Alexandria as a guard for the young king's father, and it was, no doubt, owing to the presence of these that Ptolemy XIII. enjoyed comparative peace in his capital during the last three and a half years of his reign. Whilst Ptolemy XIV. was encamped here Pompey, having been defeated at the Battle of Pharsalia, decided to fly with his wife Cornelia to Egypt for help, for its "sovereigns, although children, were "allied to Pompey by their father's friendship."[2] He sailed for Pelusium[3] with 2000 armed men, and sent

[1] Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. 103. [2] Appian, *B. C.* ii. 83.
[3] Dion Cassius, xlii. 3.

before him messengers asking Ptolemy XIV. to allow him to take refuge in Alexandria. The messengers were interviewed by the king's ministers, who sent back to Pompey an invitation to come to Egypt, but meanwhile hatched a plot to kill him on his arrival. Achillas, the king's tutor, and Lucius Septimius,[1] who had at one time commanded a company under Pompey, were sent out in a small, mean-looking coast boat to meet Pompey and to bring him to shore, and though wondering that he had not been met with more ceremony, he entered the boat, which was rowed towards the shore. Having addressed the remark, "Do I not know thee, comrade?" to his late officer, Septimius stabbed him, and his companions finished the murder.[2] This foul deed was done on the advice of Theodotus, an orator of Samos, who intended to curry favour thereby. The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Caesar, but when Caesar's soldiers came Pothinus and Achillas were put to death; whether Caesar killed them because they had murdered Pompey or for some private reason is not clear.[3] Theodotus the orator was put to death with torture by Brutus in Asia.

Meanwhile Cleopatra had pitched her camp at no great distance from that of her brother, but the hostile

[1] Appian calls him Sempronius (ii. 85); see Dion Cassius, xlii. 4.

[2] He was murdered before he landed, *ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν, πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι*; Dion Cassius, xlii. 4.

[3] See Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, iii. 112; Appian, *op. cit.*, ii. 90; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 80; and Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49.

armies seem never to have fought a decisive battle, and in the following year she received support from Julius Caesar, who landed in Alexandria with 3200 men. As the fasces were carried before him the Alexandrians thought that he had come to claim the country on behalf of Rome, and stirred up riots for some days successively, in which many of his men were killed. To protect himself he had other legions brought from Asia, and when these arrived he set to work to restore peace in the country, first, because the dispute between Cleopatra and her brother belonged to the jurisdiction of the Roman people, and of him as Consul, and secondly, because a league had been made with Ptolemy, the late king, under sanction both of a law, and a decree of the Senate.[1] There was, of course, another reason, and that a private one, for his interference, viz., Caesar had lent to Ptolemy XIII. some 17,500,000 sesterces; of this large sum he had remitted to the king's sons 7,500,000 sesterces, but he determined to be paid the remaining 10,000,000.[2] When Pothinus knew Caesar's intention, he sent to Pelusium for the army and appointed Achillas commander-in-chief and stirred up revolt generally;[3] in due course the army arrived at Alexandria, and it was found to consist of some 20,000 men, besides a "collection of highwaymen," freebooters, convicts, and runaway slaves, and 2000 cavalry.

[1] Caesar, *op. cit.*, 107. [2] Plutarch, *Caesar*, 48.
[3] Dion Cassius, xlii. 36.

Achillas seized Alexandria, except that part of the city where Caesar was, and straightway fierce fighting took place in the city in many places at the same time; in the end Caesar gained the day and set fire to the twenty-two decked vessels which formed the guard ships of the port, and to the fifty triremes and quinqueremes. Caesar next seized the island of Pharos, because it would give him the power to prevent ships from entering the port, and to obtain men and supplies.[1] About this time, whilst fights were taking place at Alexandria on land and sea, and whilst many buildings were set on fire wilfully, a quantity of wheat and, according to Dion Cassius (xlii. 38) many valuable books[2] were burnt. The course of events was, however, practically determined by Cleopatra herself, for having heard that Caesar was extremely susceptible to the attractions of women, she determined to obtain an interview with him, although according to Plutarch (*Caesar*, 48) it was Caesar who sent for Cleopatra. To carry out her purpose she took Apollodorus, the Sicilian, with her, and entering a small boat she went to the palace in the late evening, and as it was impossible for her to escape notice in any other way, she got into a bed sack and laid herself out at full length, and Apollodorus, tying the sack together with

[1] Caesar, *op. cit.*, 112.

[2] Καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων (πλείστων δη καὶ ἀρίστων ὥς φασι) γενομένων καυθῆναι; see also Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49.

a cord, carried her through the doors.[1] Caesar, it is said, was much delighted with the daring nature of the escapade, and listened willingly to the beautiful woman who pleaded her cause "with words that charmed and in a low seductive voice" until dawn; by this time he had become Cleopatra's slave, and thus Caesar, who had attempted in the name of the Roman people to judge righteously between the claims of the brother and sister, became the advocate and partizan of Cleopatra.[2]

As soon as Ptolemy XIV. realized that Caesar was his sister's lover he became furious, and snatching his crown from his head he cried out that he had been betrayed; the Egyptians rose in a body, and attacking Caesar in the place where he was from all sides they all but overcame his troops, and he was, according to Dion Cassius, in such a state of bodily fear that he promised to give them what they wanted. Soon afterwards he called together a public meeting, and having read the will of their father to the four children of Ptolemy XIII., he gave Cyprus to Arsinoë and her brother Ptolemy XV. This, however, did not settle the trouble, for the eunuch Ganymedes took Arsinoë to the Egyptians, who proclaimed her queen, and new disturbances began. At the instigation of

[1] Plutarch, *Caesar*, 49.

[2] Dion Cassius, xlii. 35, Ἧς γὰρ δικαστὴς πρότερον ἠξιοῦτο εἶναι, τότε ταυτῇ συνεδίκει.

Ganymedes Achillas was slain,[1] and Ganymedes himself took command of the Egyptian forces; thereupon fierce fights broke out everywhere in the city and on the shore. In one of these Caesar and several of his men fell or were driven into the sea, and he only escaped the infuriated Egyptians by swimming away from the shore; he was wearing his purple cloak and carrying papers when he fell into the sea, but he managed to cast away the cloak, and grasping the papers in his left hand he swam with his right and so saved his life. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy.[2] For some months Caesar was hard pressed, for the reconciliation which he had brought about between brother and sister had broken down, and the young king went over to the party that was opposed to Cleopatra and Caesar. Finally, however, a decisive battle was fought on the banks of the Nile, and Caesar all but annihilated the Egyptians; a few of these made their escape, among them being the king, but he was drowned in crossing an arm of the river.

Caesar spent nine months in this strife, and at the end of it he made a journey up the Nile with Cleopatra, escorted by 400 ships, and they explored the country together.[3] At this time he gave Egypt to Cleopatra,

[1] Dion Cassius, xlii. 39 ff.

[2] Appian, ii. 90.

[3] According to Suetonius (*Caesar*, 51), he would have gone with her in dalliance as far as Ethiopia in her luxurious boat, had not the army refused to follow him.

and made her contract a nominal marriage with her younger brother Ptolemy XV., and thus whilst ostensibly living with her brother-husband and reigning jointly with him, she was actually sole ruler of the country, and was in close and frequent intercourse with Caesar.[1] When Caesar went to Rome he invited her to follow him and she did so, together with her nominal husband and her son by Caesar, who is known as Ptolemy XVI., and was surnamed Caesarion, and is said to have resembled Caesar both in person and in gait. Doubts have been thrown on the paternity of Caesarion, but Mark Antony declared in the Senate that Caesar had acknowledged the child to be his, and that several of Caesar's friends, among them Caius Oppius and Caius Matias, knew that it was so.[2]

Cleopatra stayed with Caesar in Rome until he was murdered, and then she returned to Egypt with her nominal husband and son, and devoted herself to assisting Dolabella with ships and men. About B.C. 41 Mark Antony sent messengers to her, ordering her into his presence that she might give an explanation of her acts in the matter of the war, but many summonses were sent to her before she condescended to obey. When she did at length appear she "sailed up the

[1] The situation is neatly summed up by Dion Cassius (xlii. 44), *"Ωστε πρόσχημα μὲν, ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικοῦσα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπί κοινον αὐτῷ ἔχουσα, ἐπέκτητο· τὸ δ'ἀληθὲς, μόνη τε ἐβασίλευε, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι συνδιητάτο.*

[2] Suetonius, *Caesar*, 52.

"Cydnus in a vessel with a gilded stern, with purple "sails spread, and rowers working with silver oars to "the sound of the flute in harmony with pipes and "lutes. Cleopatra reclined under an awning spangled "with gold, dressed as Aphrodite is painted, and "youths representing the Cupids in pictures stood on "each side fanning her. In like manner the hand- "somest of her female slaves, in the dress of Nereids "and Graces, were stationed some at the rudders and "others at the ropes. And odours of wondrous kind "from much incense filled the banks."[1] Antony sent and invited her to supper, but she replied that he should come to her, and, wishing to display good nature and kindness, he went, and was astonished at the splendour of the entertainment which she provided for him, and also at the number and combinations of the lights. On the next day Cleopatra went and feasted with him, and he felt that his entertainment was coarse and rustic in the extreme beside hers. She, however, finding that her host's conversation and manner savoured more of the camp than of the palace, adapted her speech readily to his, and as a result, though Antony's wife Fulvia was carrying on a war against Caesar at Rome on behalf of her husband, and the Parthians were about to invade Syria, he allowed himself to be carried off to Alexandria. Whilst there he lived a life of pleasure and luxury with Cleopatra as if he had nothing else in the world to do, and he became

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Antonius*, 26.

her slave so absolutely that Octavianus Caesar was justified in saying of him, "I well believe[1] that he has been bewitched by that accursed woman."

Cleopatra ruled Antony completely, and she never left him either by day or by night. She played at dice with him, and hunted with him, and was a spectator when he was exercising arms, and when he went about at night in the streets laughing and joking with the common people she accompanied him disguised as a slave. The Alexandrians enjoyed his ribald remarks, and abused him as freely as he abused them, but they liked the man, and declared that he put on the tragic mask to the Romans, but the comic mask to them. Antony was completely besotted about Cleopatra, and without raising a single objection he allowed all laws, both human and divine, to be broken by her. At her instigation he caused her sister Arsinoë to be murdered in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Magnesia, and at her command were put to death Serapion, prefect of Cyprus, who had assisted Cassius, and a man who pretended to be her brother who was drowned (Ptolemy XIV.), and her brother-husband Ptolemy XV., by one means or another.[2] In short, Antony lost all interest in everything but Cleopatra, and he occupied himself wholly with his love for her;[3] whatsoever Cleopatra ordered was done. At length news reached him that his wife

[1] ἐγὼ πεπίστευκα ὅτι ὑπ' ἐκείνης τῆς καταράτου μεμάγευται. Dion Cassius, l. 26.

[2] Appian, v. 9.

[3] Dion Cassius, xlviii. 24.

Fulvia had been obliged to fly from Rome, and that the Parthians had invaded Syria, and "with difficulty, like a man roused from sleep and a drunken debauch," he set out to oppose the enemy; and being met by letters from Fulvia he sailed for Italy with 200 ships. Fulvia, however, died at Sikyon, and it fell out that a reconciliation took place between Octavianus Caesar and himself, and they divided the empire between them.[1]

Soon afterwards Antony married Caesar's sister Octavia, the widow of Caius Marcellus, for Cleopatra was not regarded as his wife; and Plutarch tells us (§ 31) that he did not admit that he had her as a wife, and that he was still struggling in his judgment on this point against his love for the Egyptian. Antony lived with Octavia for some time, but after grand entertainments given by Octavianus Caesar and himself, he gave his children, both those whom he had by Fulvia and those by Octavia, into the care of Octavian, and sailed for Asia. But "that great evil, the passion for Cleopatra, which had long slept, and appeared to be at rest, and to have been tranquillized by better considerations, blazed forth again and recovered strength as Antony approached Syria, and he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra to Syria."[2] On her arrival he gave her Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, a part of Cilicia, the part of Judaea which produces balsam, and a part of Arabia Nabathaca. According to Josephus[3] the balsam country was near

[1] Plutarch, *Antonius*, 30. [2] *Ibid.*, 36. [3] *Antiquities*, xv. 4.

Jericho, and Herod, king of the Jews, rented it from Cleopatra, and it was whilst she was there that "she endeavoured to have criminal conversation" with him; Josephus seems to be doubtful whether Cleopatra wished to lead Herod into a snare, or whether she loved him, but is on the whole inclined to think that "she seemed overcome with love for him." He goes on to say that Herod thought of putting her to death, especially if her attempt upon him proceeded from lust, and naïvely adds that Herod, having been straitly admonished by his councillors not to bring ruin upon himself, "treated Cleopatra kindly, and made her presents, and conducted her on her way to Egypt." The story is an absurd one and incredible on the face of it, for Herod, with the memory of the death which Antony had meted out to Antigonus,[1] his predecessor, would never have dared to lay a finger on Cleopatra; but Josephus here, as elsewhere in his works, shows that he could never resist the temptation to magnify the power and attractions of his own countrymen and countrywomen.

When Antony had vanquished the Parthians he returned to Syria and waited on the sea-coast between Bêrût and Sidon, at a place called the "White Village," for Cleopatra; as she did not appear so soon as he expected her he gave himself up to drinking, and was very restless until she arrived with clothes and supplies for the soldiers. Soon after

[1] He was first tied to a stake and whipped, and then beheaded.

this Antony was about to start on an expedition through Armenia, but he delayed his departure for this reason: Octavian in Rome had given Antony's wife Octavia permission to join her husband, chiefly with the idea that if she were greatly insulted and neglected he might have a pretext for making war on Antony; but when she reached Athens she received letters from Antony telling her to stop there.[1] As soon as Cleopatra heard of the coming of Octavia she began to be afraid that her influence over Antony would depart, and she therefore pretended to be desperately in love with him, and to waste her body by spare diet; whenever he came near her she appeared to be moved with strong passion for him, and she allowed sorrow and depression to come upon her as he went away from her. She was often found in tears, which she pretended to wipe away and conceal. Her friends too pointed out to Antony that he was acting in a hard and heartless fashion to a woman who was devoted to him alone; Cleopatra, said they, was a queen of many people, yet she only enjoyed the name beloved of Antony, and not that of wife of Antony, but she was quite content with this as long as she could live with him and see him. If he drove her away she would certainly die. The result was that Antony was vanquished, and he put off his expedition, and, having betrothed one of his sons by Cleopatra to the daughter of the king of Parthia, went back to Egypt with Cleopatra. He lived at

[1] Plutarch, *Antonius*, 53.

Alexandria as a private person, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe; he spent his time wholly with Greeks in deference to Cleopatra, and he went only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the learned.[1] Soon after Antony's return from Armenia he gave a banquet, during which he caused two golden thrones to be placed on a tribunal, one for himself and one for Cleopatra, and his children were provided with lower thrones. He declared Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele Syria, with Caesarion, the son of Julius Caesar, co-regent; to her he gave the title "queen of kings," to each of his sons by her he gave the title "king of kings," and to Alexander Armenia, Media, and Parthia, and to Ptolemy Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia.[2] At this time Cleopatra used to dress as the goddess Isis, and was called the "new Isis," she also made Antony dress in the characters of Osiris and Dionysos, and acted in a most extravagant manner. Withal, she had absolute power in Egypt, and as Dion Cassius says (l. 5), "she bewitched everybody."

Meanwhile Octavia returned to Rome, and Octavian was furious at the insult which his sister had received at the hands of her husband, who showed openly that he cared for nothing in the whole world

[1] Appian, v. 11.

[2] Plutarch, *Antonius*, 54; Dion Cassius, xlix. 41.

except Cleopatra. Caesar brought the matter before the Senate, and stirred up the army to such good purpose by his abuse of Antony's folly and Cleopatra's iniquity[1] that at length war was declared against Cleopatra. Antony accepted the challenge, and went to Ephesus, where he collected 800 ships, and Cleopatra, who craftily contrived to go with him, contributed 220,000 talents and supplies for the army. At Samos they made a great feast, and for several days nothing but music was heard on the island; the theatres were thronged, and the petty kings vied with each other in the extravagance of their gifts and entertainments. At Athens also Antony gave himself up to pleasure and theatre-going, and from there he sent men to Rome to eject Octavia from his house. As Octavia left it the people pitied not her, but Antony, especially those who had seen Cleopatra, "a woman who had not the advantage over Octavia "either in beauty or in youth."[2] At length Antony devoted himself to making preparations for war, as also did Caesar, and in the great battle which followed at Actium in 31 Antony had quite as good a chance of winning as his opponent. But when as yet the battle was undecided, the sixty ships which Cleopatra had sent to the fight were seen to be hoisting their sails and making ready to withdraw from the battle. As

[1] Compare the words of Dion Cassius, *εἰ ἄισθοιντο ἡμᾶς ὀλέθρῳ γυναικὶ ὑποπεπτωκότας* (l. 24).

[2] Plutarch, *Antonius*, 57.

soon as Antony saw her ship sailing away, "forgetting "everything, and deserting and skulking away from "those who were fighting and dying in his cause, he "got into a five-oared galley with only Alexas the "Syrian and Skellios to attend him, and followed after "her who had already ruined him, and was destined "to complete his ruin."[1] As soon as Cleopatra recognized Antony's vessel she raised a signal, and when it came up alongside of her own she took him on board; thus Antony, when he had still nineteen legions of unvanquished soldiers and 12,000 horsemen, ran away from the battle. When Antony reached the coast of Libya, he sent Cleopatra on to Egypt from Paraetonium, and staying behind he tried to kill himself, but was prevented, and sent to Alexandria by his friends.

As soon as Cleopatra arrived in Egypt she made a plan to escape by the Red Sea, in ships which she had dragged across the Isthmus of Suez, but as the Arabs of Petra burnt those which were first brought over, she gave up the plan and began to fortify Egypt against attack by Caesar. She went so far as to behead Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, whom Antony had brought to Egypt, and she sent his head to the king of Media, with whom Artavasdes had been at war, in order to obtain help from him. Shortly afterwards Antony was received into the palace at Alexandria by Cleopatra, and then began a revival of

[1] Plutarch, *Antonius*, 66.

the drinkings and feastings, and waste of money with which the Alexandrians were familiar. Meanwhile Cleopatra collected deadly poisons of all kinds and tried them on those who were in prison under sentence of death, and next she made trial of animals which were set on each other daily in her presence; as a result she found that the bite of the asp was the most efficacious and the least painful way of causing death.

About this time Cleopatra sent envoys to treat with Octavian, and she asked that her children might have Egypt, and Antony be allowed to live as a private person at Athens; in answer Caesar said that she should have anything in reason if she would kill Antony, and sent Thyrsus the orator to persuade her to do what he wished. Antony, being jealous of the interviews which this man had with Cleopatra, whipped him and sent him back to Caesar.

At length Caesar came by way of Syria to Egypt, and Cleopatra made Seleucus the governor of Pelusium betray the city to him,[1] but she gave up the wife and children of Seleucus to be put to death. Cleopatra next gathered together all her treasures, gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, cinnamon, etc., and a large quantity of firewood and tow in a magnificent tomb which she had built near the temple of Isis, and Caesar feared that she would destroy herself and all this wealth at the same time. When Caesar had taken up his position near

[1] Dion Cassius, li. 9; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 74.

the hippodrome Antony sallied out and put all his cavalry to flight, and then he challenged Caesar to single combat, whereupon he replied that Antony had many ways of dying. On this Antony determined to do battle with Caesar on land and sea at the same time, but having collected his sailors and soldiers, through the treachery of Cleopatra[1] they all deserted to the enemy, about August 1, B.C. 30; when Antony saw this he cried out that he had been betrayed, and Cleopatra fearing his wrath fled to her tomb, and having let down the doors she bolted them and sent men to tell Antony that she was dead. Antony went into his chamber and called upon his faithful slave Erôs to kill him, but he, having drawn his sword and pretended to be about to smite his master, suddenly turned away his face and killed himself; seeing this Antony ran his sword through his own body and cast himself on the bed, but the wound was not fatal at once, and he called upon the bystanders to finish him, because he was writhing in pain. This, however, no man would do, and almost immediately Diomedes, the secretary of Cleopatra, came with orders to take Antony to the tomb. When Antony knew that she was alive he ordered his servants to take him to her, and they did so; but she would not open the doors, and having let down cords from a window the servants fastened him to them, and she herself and two women drew him up. When she

[1] Dion Cassius, li. 10.

had brought him into the chamber and laid him down she tore her garments and beat her breasts and scratched them with her hands, and at the same time smearing her face with his blood she called him master, and husband, and Imperator. Antony asked for wine, and when he had drunk it he gave her certain advice and died.

When Octavian heard of his death he retired within his tent and wept, and then he sent Procleius to secure Cleopatra alive, both for the sake of the money and because he wished to lead her in his triumphal procession at Rome. By stratagem Procleius obtained admission to the tomb, and was just in time to prevent her from stabbing herself; he took away her dagger and shook her dress to see that there was no poison concealed in it. Caesar allowed Cleopatra to bury Antony's body in a sumptuous and royal manner, and then she fell ill of a fever, and abstained from food, wishing to end her life without hindrance. A few days later Caesar went to visit her, and according to Dion Cassius (li. 12) he found her in a loose mourning garb, which greatly enhanced her beauty, sitting on a bed with portraits of the father of her son scattered about her and all his letters to her. She wept over and kissed the letters, and addressing them asked what good they were to her, and why she had not been permitted to die before their writer. Meanwhile Caesar stood silent with his eyes fixed on the ground, and all he said was, "Be of good courage, O woman, and be of

"good cheer, for thou shalt suffer no harm." When Cleopatra saw that he did not look at her, and had uttered to her no words either about the kingdom or love, she cast herself down at his feet and cried out that she did not wish to live, and that she wanted to die with Antony; still Caesar said nothing, but kept his eyes on the ground, and when he left her he caused her to be carefully watched by his freedman Epaphroditus lest she should destroy herself.

Shortly afterwards she changed her manner, and made people think that she wished and intended to live, and Caesar himself was deceived. By his permission she went and poured out libations at Antony's tomb, and embraced the coffin, and addressed to its occupant a pathetic speech. When she arrived at home she ordered a bath, and having bathed, enjoyed a splendid banquet. After the banquet a man from the country brought in a basket of figs, among which was coiled an asp covered over with leaves. Taking a tablet which had already been written upon by her, Cleopatra sealed it and sent it to Caesar, and then turned everyone out of the room except her two women Eiras and Charmion. What exactly happened then no one knows, but certain it is that Cleopatra either caused herself to be bitten by an asp in the arm or on the breast, or took poison. Some say the asp was in the basket of figs, others that it was in a water pitcher, and that Cleopatra drew it out with a golden distaff and irritated the reptile until it sprang upon her arm and drove its fangs into

it. Caesar believed that the asp fastened upon her arm, for two small indistinct punctures were seen in it, and the figure of Cleopatra which was carried in his triumph had an asp clinging to it. Others say that the poison was in a hairpin or a hollow comb. When Octavian had read the tablet, which contained a petition by Cleopatra to be buried with Antony, he sent men quickly to inquire about her, and as the guards knew nothing of what was happening, they made their way into the tomb, and found Cleopatra lying dead[1] on a golden couch in royal attire. Charmion was staggering about and trying to arrange the diadem on Cleopatra's forehead, and Eiras was dying at her feet; the latter said, "A good deed this, Charmion!" and she replied, "Yes, most goodly, and befitting the descendant of so "many kings." Caesar caused Cleopatra to be buried with Antony in a splendid and royal style, and her women received honourable interment.

Cleopatra died aged thirty-nine years, having been queen twenty-two years. Antony first saw Cleopatra when she was a girl and when he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius in Alexandria,[2] and she seems to have made a great impression upon him; he next saw her at Tarsus when he was forty years old, and his subjection to her was instantaneous and

[1] According to Dion Cassius (li. 14) Caesar sent for the Psylli, or serpent charmers, to suck the poison out of her body, but she was already dead when Caesar saw her.

[2] Appian, v. 8.

complete. When he died he was either fifty-three or fifty-six years of age, and he had governed with Cleopatra fourteen years. Caesar put to death her son Caesarion, and also Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, but he spared all the children whom Cleopatra had by Antony, and caused them to be brought up in a manner suitable to their rank, and as if they had been his relations.[1]

It is not easy to formulate a just view of the character of Cleopatra, because ancient writers who describe her physical and mental characteristics do not agree in their estimate of her. That she was a most beautiful woman there seems little reason to doubt, and Dion Cassius says (xli. 34) that at the time when Antony saw her at Tarsus she was a most lovely woman, that she was then in the prime of life and beauty, that her charm of speech was such that she won all who listened to her views, that she was splendid to hear and to see, and that she was capable of conquering the hearts which had resisted most obstinately the influence of love, and those which had been frozen by age.[2] On the other hand, Plutarch says (*Antonius*, 27) that "her beauty was not in itself altogether

[1] Plutarch, *Antonius*, 87; Suetonius, *Caesar Augustus*, 17.

[2] Ἄλλως τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὥρας ἀκμῇ πολύ διέπρεπε. Τό τε φθέγμα ἀστειότατον εἶχε, καὶ προσομιλῆσαι παντί τῳ διὰ χαρίτων ἡπίστατο· ὥστε λαμπρά τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι οὖσα, καὶ τούτου πάντα τινὰ καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ ἀφηλικέστερον ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρὸς τρόπου τε ἐνόμισε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐντεύξεσθαι, καὶ πάντα ἐν τῷ καλλει τὰ δικαιώματα ἔθετο.

Cleopatra VII., Queen of Egypt.

"incomparable nor such as to strike those who saw "her; but familiarity with her had an irresistible charm, "and her form, combined with her persuasive speech "and with the peculiar character which in a manner "was diffused about her behaviour, produced a certain "piquancy. There was a sweetness also in the sound "of her voice when she spoke; and as she could easily "turn her tongue, like a many stringed instrument, "to any language that she pleased, she had very "seldom need of an interpreter for her communication "with barbarians, but she answered most by herself, "as Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, "Medes, and Parthians. She is said to have learned "the language of many other peoples, though the kings "her predecessors had not even taken the pains to "learn the Egyptian language, and some of them had "not even given up the Macedonian dialect."

The picture of Cleopatra's character drawn by Josephus is a very dark one.[1] He says that she was covetous, that she stopped at no wickedness, that to get money she would violate both temples and sepulchres, that no place was too holy or too infamous so long as she could get gain from it, that she was a slave to her lusts, that she wanted everything she thought of, and did her utmost to get it, and that by some means or other she had bewitched Antony and could make him do anything, including murder. It is true that she loved money, but so did all the Ptolemies, and so did their

[1] *Antiquities*, xv. 14, § 1.

wives and daughters. Cleopatra was, however, no mere greedy money grabber, as Josephus would have us believe, for she spent her money in so lavish a fashion that she astonished the world by her extravagance. She loved magnificent pageants of every kind, and to outdo others would spare no expense, a fact proved by the famous story of Pliny (ix. 58) which tells how she melted in vinegar a pearl worth about £76,000 (?), and swallowed it in order to win her wager against Antony, who declared that it was impossible for her to spend 10,000,000 sesterces on a single banquet.

That she was cruel and arrogant on occasions, and allowed nothing to stand in the way of gratifying her ambition is well known. Thus though Seleucus the governor of Syria had delivered up Pelusium at her bidding it did not prevent her from handing over his wife and children to be put to death; in her ambition to gain power over Octavian she betrayed Antony, though there is no doubt that she loved him dearly; when Cicero, who had made a telling speech before the Senate in favour of her father Auletes, paid her a visit in Rome she treated him in an arrogant fashion; and Pliny tells us that she was "inflated with vanity and disdainful arrogance," and affected to treat all the vast and costly entertainments which Antony prepared to please her with the greatest contempt. Dion Cassius, in a remarkable passage (li. 14) intended to sum up her character, says that no

wealth could satisfy her, and that her passions were insatiable; she was intensely ambitious and most jealous lest sufficient honour should not be paid to her.[1] It is doubtful if her beauty was as great as has been popularly supposed, especially as Plutarch tells us that she was not "incomparably beautiful," and that Antony's wife Octavia was more beautiful than she; but whether this be so or not matters little. Cleopatra undoubtedly employed such beauty as she possessed to serve her ambitious ends, but it was not this alone that enabled her to vanquish two of the greatest Roman warriors and generals.

All writers agree in their descriptions of the charm of her conversation, and refer to the subtle and seductive effect of her sweet, soft voice upon her hearers; but the ready wit of her words was as enticing as their persuasiveness, and while her grace of manner was irresistible, her charming audacity led captive all who had the opportunity of becoming well acquainted with her. Her knowledge of languages seems to indicate that she, like most of the Ptolemies, possessed a love of literature, and her interest in learning is shown by the fact that she made Antony give her the library of Pergamum, and then deposited in Alexandria the 200,000 single books which it contained[2] in place of that of the Brucheion

[1] *Ἄπληστος μὲν Ἀφροδίτης, ἄπληστος δὲ χρημάτων γενομένη καὶ πολλῆ μὲν φιλοτιμία φιλοδόξῳ.*

[2] Plutarch, *Antonius*, 58.

which was burnt during the fights between Caesar and the Alexandrians. Of the person of the last queen of Egypt ancient writers have unfortunately left us no description, and all that we have to guide us in forming an idea of her appearance are a few statues, and the reliefs which were sculptured during her reign on the walls of the Egyptian temples and on coins. The figures of her on the reliefs in the temples are useless as portraits, for they are merely conventional representations of the queen-goddess of the period. The reliefs on the coins are more valuable, and it is clear that they give some idea of her profile at one period of her life; they do not, however, suggest that she was a strikingly lovely woman, but bear out Plutarch's statement that she was not "incomparably beautiful."

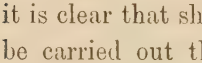
The descriptions of her character and acquirements supplied by Plutarch, Dion Cassius, and others indicate that she was not of pure Macedonian origin, and she certainly possessed far greater ability than any Arsinoë, or Berenice, or other Cleopatra, who is known to have ruled Egypt. Her father, as we know, was not a full-blooded descendant of the Ptolemies; of her mother we know nothing, but it is probable that she had Semitic blood in her veins, and that Cleopatra derived her facility in learning and speaking languages, her ready wit and ability, and many of her mental and physical characteristics from her. Her love of splendid ceremonials and royal pageants, and her lavish and reckless expenditure on occasions also point to this

conclusion; moreover, the portrait head of Cleopatra

Ptolemy XVI. burning incense before the gods.

in the British Museum gives her a refined Semitic

cast of features. There is no foundation whatsoever for the popular view that Cleopatra was a dark woman, with the complexion of the native woman of the Nile Valley and long black hair, and it is far more likely that she had the fair complexion and yellow or even red hair, which is often found with the descendants of Europeans and Semites in Egypt and Syria. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that she was a beautiful, fascinating, clever, and in many respects able woman, with boundless ambition, to gratify which she was ready to squander untold riches, and to sacrifice her person; and in spite of her cruelty and other defects it is impossible not to feel that when she killed herself a great and brave woman left the world.

When Cleopatra and her son Caesarion were appointed co-regents by Julius Caesar in 47, it seems that a number of architectural works were at once undertaken in their joint names. At Denderah there are numbers of reliefs in which the young king and his mother appear, and it seems as though some of the representations of the queen were intended to be portraits; it is not easy to see exactly how much of the fabric of this temple was built in Cleopatra's reign, but it is clear that she caused works of some magnitude to be carried out there. Caesarion is here represented offering incense to Isis, and to Ḥeru-sam-taui-pa-khrat,  , the son of Hathor, and he is followed by Cleopatra, who wears the headdresses of Isis and

Hathor, and holds in her hands a sistrum and a *menát*, , the emblem of joy and festivity.

At Erment, a town about eight miles south of Thebes, which stands near the site of the ancient Egyptian city of Ánnu Qemā, , the Hermonthis of the Greeks, there existed some years ago a small temple and a Mammeisi which were built during the joint reign of

"Pharaoh's Bed" on the Island of Philae.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

Cleopatra and Caesarion, and, thanks to the drawings published by Lepsius,[1] we may gain some idea of the character of the reliefs with which the smaller building was ornamented. They were intended to represent the conception, birth, and rearing of the child Ptolemy

[1] *Denkmäler*, iv. pll. 39 ff.

XVI., or Caesarion, and were evidently copied from the reliefs of the XVIIIth Dynasty which were made for the great queen Hātshepset or Ḥātshepsut, Åmen-ḥetep III., and other royal personages. The remaining reliefs show that Isis, in the form of Cleopatra, was visited by Åmen-Rā in the form of an earthly father, and that a child was conceived and brought forth by the queen. Several of the ancient gods and goddesses assisted at the birth, among them being Nit, Nekhebet, and Åmen-Rā, and the spirits of at least fourteen of the great cities of Egypt were present. The child was suckled by the divine cow-goddesses, and was nursed by the great goddesses in turn, including Sebek-Nit, , Isis, and Rā-tauit, ; at an early age the Hathors took him under their protection, and in due course Osiris, Åmen-Rā, and the various Horus gods conferred upon him sovereignty, dominion, untold years of life, and the other gifts which the gods were supposed to give to the kings of Egypt in Pharaonic times.

Thus we see that, aided by the priesthood, Cleopatra made an attempt to prove that her son by Caesar was the seed of the old royal and divine house of Egypt, and that he was the legal heir to the throne as well as the actual master of the country. It is interesting to note the persistence of the belief that the kings of Egypt must be of the seed of Åmen-Rā, and the tact with which Cleopatra adopted it, and used it

as a means of furthering her own ambitious ends, whereby Caesarion was to be regarded as the rightful lord of the South and of the North. The Egyptian priesthood must have found it difficult enough to affiliate Alexander the Macedonian to Åmen-Rā, but how much harder must it have been to prove that the son of a Roman general by a woman of Greek descent on the father's side and of unknown descent on the mother's, was the offspring of the god Åmen-Rā? But Cleopatra, like Alexander the Great, was ready to meet the priesthood half way, and to welcome any arrangement with them which tended to strengthen her hold on the country. With Cleopatra and Caesarion the long and mighty line of the Ancient Pharaohs of Egypt comes to an end; the Roman Emperors masqueraded as Pharaohs upon the walls of the temples, it is true, but they were not kings of Egypt living in Egypt; the land of the Åmenemḥāts and of the Åmen-ḥeteps now finally ceased to be an independent kingdom, and became a province of the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER III.

THE PTOLEMAÏC PERIOD.—SUMMARY.

From what has been said in the preceding pages it is clear that the feature which differentiated this, the last period of the history of the Egyptians as an independent nation, from the periods which had gone before is the introduction of the Greek element as a permanent factor in Egyptian life. When once a Greek king had ascended the throne of the Pharaohs Egypt became included in the circle of Greek culture, and the Egyptian kingdom became a Hellenized state, even as did also Syria and the other eastern countries conquered by Alexander the Great. The king and his court and his army were Greeks and spoke Greek, but the religion of the country continued to be purely Egyptian, and the language of the priesthood and of the people was Egyptian. As time passed the Greek element in the country grew stronger, until at length, in Roman times, Greek became the official language of the country, and the Egyptian language was only used officially for religious purposes.

The Greeks who had settled in the country worshipped the Egyptian gods, and the god Serapis, who is generally declared to have been a foreign importation from Sinope, is in reality nothing but the union of two forms of the god Osiris, i.e., Àsàr and Ḥāpi, or Osiris and Apis. This deity Àsàr-Ḥāpi, whose name was Graecized as Serapis, was, however, represented not in Egyptian, but in Greek form, his type being naturally that of the Greek god of the Underworld, Hades. It is probable that in the reign of Ptolemy Soter some well-known image of Hades was brought to Egypt from Sinope, and was there worshipped as an image of Àsàr-Ḥāpi. On the other hand, such a god as Soknopaios, who was worshipped by the Greeks of Crocodilopolis, was Sebek, a purely Egyptian deity, whom it was impossible to identify with any Hellenic divinity. The Ptolemaïc kings offered up sacrifices to and worshipped the ancient gods of the country, and rebuilt and endowed many of their temples. In private life they were Greeks, and as far as their administrative work was concerned they were Greeks, for all their ministers and high executive officers were Greeks also, but in the eyes of the Egyptian nation they were Egyptian Pharaohs, and they always appeared before the people in the guise of the heirs of the great kings of the New Empire. Many were crowned with all the ancient rites and ceremonies at Memphis, and they are represented as conforming to ancient usage by

consulting the old gods of Egypt through their priests concerning the welfare of the kingdom. They even followed the example of the Pharaohs of old, in marrying their own sisters and nieces; in the first instance they must have done this in order to please the priesthood, for such marriages were most repugnant to the ideas of their Greek subjects.

To gratify the people and to satisfy the national sentiment, as well as to please the priests, Ptolemy III. Euergetes I. aspired not only to rival, but even to outstrip the conquests of Thothmes III.; he penetrated further east than any Egyptian conqueror before him, and brought back from Persia and Mesopotamia large numbers of images of Egyptian gods, made presumably of gold and silver, which had been carried off centuries before by Cambyses, and by the Assyrian conquerors before him. Popular religious sentiment was also gratified by the large grants of land which the Ptolemies made to the gods, and the estates which were set apart by them for the maintenance of the priesthood and temples were greater in extent than they had ever been since the time of the XXth Dynasty.

But this favouring of the priesthood in order to gratify the native Egyptians did not lead in any way to priestly interference in the government of the country, which was carried on by Greek ministers as in other Hellenistic states. The leading men among the native Egyptians had no effective voice in deciding the policy of the country, and it was

probably the discovery by the priests of their real powerlessness that led to the anti-Greek revolts, which took place from time to time in Upper Egypt. But no outburst of national feeling could ever affect the fact that Egypt had finally entered the comity of nations the directing force of which was Greek, especially when, as in Egypt, all the forms and traditions of the Ancient Empire were perpetuated in the actual administration of the country, and in the pomp and ceremony which accompanied the kings. And the fact that these kings were, in reality, very powerful monarchs, and by no means the weak and disreputable *fainéants* that they are usually considered to have been, no doubt made their rule acceptable to the Egyptian layman, although the priest must often have chafed under his inability to interfere in the business of the government.

The power of Egypt under the rule of the first four Ptolemies was no sham, for she was in their days as great, as rich, and as prosperous as ever she had been before, even in the times of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Under Philadelphus she was the wealthiest country in the world, and the court of Alexandria was the most luxurious and the most splendid known to the ancients until the days of Nero and his Golden House. Under Euergetes I., as we have already mentioned, the glories of the ancient conquering Pharaohs were revived, and the power of Egypt was carried into regions in which it had never before

been seen. That the armies of Euergetes consisted chiefly of mercenaries from Greece and Asia Minor must not be regarded as making his conquests Greek and not Egyptian, for the ancient Pharaohs had also employed mercenaries, the greater number of whom came from Asia Minor, and were as a matter of fact the ancestors of the warriors who fought for the Ptolemies; besides, there were, no doubt, considerable numbers of native Egyptians in the Ptolemaïc armies, and the generals of Euergetes were everywhere regarded as the generals of an Egyptian Pharaoh and the representatives of the ancient might of Egypt. The Greek cities which were in league with Ptolemy Soter and which admitted Egyptian garrisons into their citadels can, however, scarcely be regarded as forming a part of the Ptolemaïc Empire, for their allegiance was paid rather to the Greek king Ptolemy, the successor of Alexander, than to the "king of the South and North, the son of the Sun, Ptolemy." The extent of the Ptolemaïc Empire varied from reign to reign, but Cyrene, Cyprus, Coele Syria, and Palestine remained more or less subject to them, that is to say, even under the weakest Ptolemies Egypt controlled as large an extent of territory as she had ever possessed under the greatest of the ancient Pharaohs.

This was due to the binding force of the Greek element which had now leavened all the countries of the Nearer East. In Egypt this element does not come so much to the fore as in the other

Hellenistic lands, because of the dominating force still possessed by the ancient civilization of the country, which Greek culture could, and did modify to some extent, but could never radically alter, far less subdue. Greek cities retaining the purely Greek form of state government were not founded so frequently in Egypt as in the other countries conquered by Alexander, in fact, we only know of one certain example of a regular Greek πόλις with a Hellenic polity in Egypt, namely, Ptolemaïs, which was founded as a capital for the Thebaïd in place of ruined Thebes. It has been thought that the city of Crocodilopolis in the Fayyûm also possessed Greek political privileges, but this is doubtful. Alexandria, it is certain, never possessed them, and was never an autonomous Greek city. Alexandria was founded as a Greek centre of government to ensure Greek control over the land, but this control was to be exercised, not by a council and assembly of Greek citizens, electing their magistrates, but by an autocratic satrap after the Persian model. The magistrates of a Greek city-state could never have controlled the whole of Egypt, but a Greek satrap could make his power felt everywhere. Alexandria was, therefore, of set purpose not organized as a Greek autonomous city, but was intended to be the capital of a partially Hellenized country, a city dominated by Greek influence and the residence of the Greek ruler of the land. When this ruler ceased to be the vicegerent of the Macedonian successor of the "Great King," and

set himself up as an Egyptian Pharaoh, Alexandria became still less fitted for a Greek autonomous polity, and developed into the city in which the Greek king of Egypt resided, and in which Greek and Egyptian lived together on terms of equality. The inhabitants of the capital possessed, however, certain peculiar privileges. In the first place it would appear that the Alexandrians were exempted from the λαογραφία, or poll tax,[1] and later, other persons residing in Egypt who possessed Alexandrian rights were also exempt from this tax; in Roman times the possession of Alexandrian rights was necessary to a native Egyptian before he could proceed to the acquisition of the Roman citizenship.

The freedom of the Alexandrians soon attracted settlers from all parts of the Mediterranean countries and Western Asia, and among others the Jews came in large numbers to the city, where they formed a wealthy and important section of the community-states. Their oppression by the Seleucid kings, no doubt, induced them to abandon Syria for Egypt, where special privileges were given them by the earlier Ptolemies, whose interest it was to befriend the enemies of the Seleucids. Their power in Egypt gradually increased, and they spread from Alexandria into the provinces, and we find Jewish settlements not only in the Fayyûm but even in the Thebaïd. The lucrative business of tax-farming fell largely into the hands of the Jews, and the success of the commercial enterprises of the

[1] See Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten*, vol. i. p. 240.

Egyptians at this time was due largely to Jewish money and Jewish brains. The Jewish community in Egypt prospered and flourished, until at length it became the centre of Judaism, not only from a commercial, but also from a religious point of view. This is shown by the fact that they were sufficiently influential to induce Ptolemy II. Philadelphus to send an embassy to the high-priest at Jerusalem to borrow a copy of the Book of the Law, as well as the services of seventy-two pious and learned men, six from each tribe, to translate it correctly from Hebrew into Greek. This fact also shows how far Hellenism had progressed among the wealthier and more cultured Alexandrian Jews, since it had become necessary to translate their Scriptures into Greek before they could understand them. The increase of their power naturally gave rise in Egypt, as in all other countries, to an anti-Semitic feeling, and Greeks and Egyptians were drawn together in their common hatred for the Jew. The wilful isolation of the Jew kept him aloof from the rest of the population, whilst the Greeks and Macedonians mingled more and more with the native Egyptians, until intermarriage became common among them, and in the documents of the period we find Greek, and Macedonian, and Egyptian names, occurring indiscriminately in a single family. The popular dislike of the Jews often found expression in the sanguinary riots which occurred from time to time in Alexandria, but in some of these the Jews themselves were the aggressors. The frequent

riots in Alexandria were, however, not always due to anti-Semitic feeling, and eventually the citizens gained the reputation of being the most turbulent in the world, a reputation which remained with them until the Arab conquest.

We have already noted that the Jews were largely engaged in the business of tax-farming, and have seen that the Alexandrians were exempt from the poll-tax. The system of taxation employed in Egypt under the Ptolemies was extremely complicated, and this complicated character was, no doubt, an inheritance from older Pharaonic days. It differed, however, considerably from the old Egyptian system, since it was modified by the use of coined money in making certain payments. The taxes were regulated by decrees made by the king himself after consultation with his ministers, and the king decided whether the collecting of certain taxes should be entrusted to his own officials, or should be offered for sale to the highest bidder, who would, of course, sublet it to smaller tax-farmers. The number of the taxes, their incidence, and the method by which they were collected, were revised yearly. The chief taxes were the ἐπιγραφή, or land-tax, which was paid either in money or in kind; the λαογραφία, or poll-tax, which has already been mentioned; the χειρωνάξιον, or tax on the produce of skilled labour of all kinds; the taxes on salt, natron, wine, and palm-trees; the τέλος ταφῶν, or tax on funerals, which in Egypt must have been very productive; and the

ἀπομοίρα, which was originally a tax paid by the possessors of vineyards and gardens for the support of the temples of the gods. The benefit of this last tax was, however, taken away from the priests by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was appropriated to the use of the queen Arsinoë, who being a goddess on earth was regarded as having a perfectly legitimate right to it. Innumerable other taxes were levied on various classes of the population, but many of them corresponded to our local rates and were spent in the maintenance of police and of local public works.[1]

Viewed from the standpoint of modern nations the burden of taxation in Egypt was undoubtedly severe, for, in addition to the main taxes which fell upon almost every profession and commodity, local *octroi* duties were also enforced. The wealth of the Ptolemaïc court was the result of a merciless "squeezing" of the people, but the *fellahîn* were well used to this, for they had lived under much the same conditions for thousands of years. The position of the lower classes in general was not appreciably different from that in which they had lived under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, when the whole land had been as prosperous and wealthy as it was under the earlier Ptolemies, the only difference being that the place of the Phoenician pedlar and trader who frequented Egypt in

[1] A full treatment of the taxation of Egypt under both Ptolemies and Romans will be found in Wilcken's important work, *Griechische Ostraka*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1899.

the days of the Ramessides was now taken by the ubiquitous Greek, who, like his modern descendant, had already settled not only in Alexandria and in the town set apart specially for him—Ptolemaïs—but in nearly every native town and village throughout the kingdom. With the Greek trader there came the Jewish money-lender; as we have seen, the Egyptian preferred the Greek to the Jew.

Since in private life king, court, ministry, and army were Greek, it follows as a matter of course that Hellenic literature and art invaded Egypt in full force in the Ptolemaïc Period; Greek ideas on these subjects were, however, as yet confined to the people of Greek descent. The Egyptians had daily before their eyes temples and other buildings erected in the Greek style, and became accustomed to the sight of the leaves of their native papyrus being written upon in Greek characters with the masterpieces of Greek literature; but it cannot be said that the majority of the people had begun to understand and appreciate these things until the end of the Ptolemaïc Period, at which time also intermarriages between Greeks and Egyptians began to be frequent. The mixed styles of art known as "Graeco-Egyptian" hardly belong to the Ptolemaïc Period at all; they date, generally speaking, from the early Roman Period. Under the Ptolemies a hard and fast line still separated Greek from Egyptian art, and when a temple was erected by the Greek king in honour of his Egyptian gods, its style and ornamenta-

tion were purely Egyptian. One of the rare instances of Greek interference with Egyptian convention in the matter of temple decoration is here illustrated. Over the cornice of the entrance to the temple of the god I-em-ḥetep at Philae is cut a Greek inscription of two lines recording the dedication by Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, and his queen, and his son, of the building to the Greek god Asklepios. This is an interesting example of the identification of Egyptian with Greek gods which was effected whenever possible.

The principal temple buildings of the Ptolemies were those at Philae and Edfû, and each king contributed in his turn to the building, repairs, enlargement, and decoration of these remarkable edifices. The worship of Horus of Beḥuṭet at Edfû was extremely old, in fact, the original temple there must have been one of the most ancient in Egypt, and it is probably a result of the archaistic revival which took place under the XXVIth Dynasty that we find the Ptolemaïc monarchs engaged in the rebuilding and restoration of the oldest temples in the country. It is true that the Ptolemies did not wholly neglect the shrines of the gods of Thebes, for Philadelphus built a granite doorway for the Temple of Menthu, and Euergetes I. erected the well-known gateway at the end of the avenue of sphinxes which leads to the Temple of Khensu; but, in spite of the attempt to revive it under the Greek designation of Diospolis, Thebes was, more or less, in a state of ruin during the Ptolemaïc Period, and its god Åmen, having become

merged with Osiris-Åmsu (or Osiris-Min), was no longer regarded with any special veneration by the Egyptians. It is an interesting fact that at this period the Greeks paid more reverence to "Åmen-Rā, king of the gods," than the Egyptians, for the devotion of Alexander to Ammon as his divine father drew the attention of the Greek settlers generally to this deity, whom it was easy to identify with Zeus, the father of gods and men. On the other hand, the Egyptians seem, as we have said, to have already begun to confuse Åmen with Osiris.

The Egyptian literature of the Ptolemaïc Period, like its art, was in no way influenced by Greek models, and Greek influence does not appear to any great extent in either until Roman times. The native literature consisted chiefly of popular tales which were based upon ancient originals, and were written down in the Demotic character; a good example of such tales is the story of Setnau Khā-em-Uast, of which two portions are extant.[1] Copies of the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, in whole or in part, continued to be made for funereal purposes, but at this time the copy was often written in Demotic, and when linear hieroglyphs are employed they always have the peculiarly ungraceful appearance characteristic of this period, when the scribes seem to have comprehended

[1] Brugsch, *Le Roman de Setnau*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd Series, vol. xvi. p. 161 f.; and Hess, *Der demotische Roman von Stne Ḫa-m-us*, 1888; Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900.

hardly a word of what they were writing. It is a moot point how far the common people ever really understood the hieroglyphic texts which were inscribed on the walls of the temples, and on stelae, and other public monuments, but it is more than probable that they could not read them. In the Ptolemaïc period it is quite certain that no one could read the hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the exception of a few priests and scribes who were interested in antiquarian studies. The better classes of the people generally used the Demotic character, and this was understood and used by nearly everyone, just as under the New Empire the foremen of the temple artisans could read and write the hieratic character. The result of the study of the hieroglyphic script becoming confined to a small company of learned men was that the writing was modified by pedantic ideas and by erroneous theories, the natural effect being that by the time the Roman Period is reached the use and signification of many signs were so much altered that an Egyptian of the Ramessid period would have had great difficulty in understanding the parody which passed for hieroglyphic writing under the Ptolemies and Romans. We may also note in passing that at this period the hieroglyphics on the walls of temples, etc., are always in relief instead of being incuse, or sunk relief, a change due to the archaizing spirit in art which grew up under the XXVIth Dynasty, for hieroglyphics were often cut in full relief under the earliest dynasties.

Here may be mentioned the curious fact that the scarab was now no longer used as a seal, and its disappearance, as a seal, seems to date from the end of the XXVIth Dynasty. Under the restored native kingdom of the Nectanebids it seems not to have been used in this way, but as a funereal amulet the large "heart scarab" inscribed with Chapter XXXB. of the *Book of the Dead* was used down to and in Ptolemaïc times. The glazed earthenware *ushabti* figure, the style of which, as we have already seen, underwent considerable change in the time of the XXVIth Dynasty, continued in use until the beginning of the Ptolemaïc period, after which time it is rarely found.

Speaking generally, Ptolemaïc monumental art is marked by a considerable alteration from the style in vogue under the Nectanebid kings, which itself was an ultra-refinement of the style of the XXVIth Dynasty. In Ptolemaïc reliefs the extreme carefulness and attention to detail which marked the work of the XXXth Dynasty have developed into a strained and unmeaning formalism; the finely cut and delicate forms of the earlier period have given way under the Ptolemies to harsh and often clumsy forms which look as though they had been turned out by a machine, and which are repeated everywhere *ad infinitum* without modification or change. Under the earlier Ptolemies the half archaistic art of the Saïtes, which had attained its greatest refinement under the Nectanebids, degenerated and died out. The splendour of Philadelphus and the conquests of

Euergetes I. turned men's minds once again from the simplicity of the Early Empire, which had been so attractive to the Saïtes, to the pomps and glories of the great Pharaohs of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and just as Rameses III. imitated the vain-glorious sculptures of Rameses II., so we find the artists who executed the reliefs on the temples ornamented by the later Ptolemies turning to the work of the New Empire for their inspiration. The result is that under Ptolemy VII. we find imitations[1] of the reliefs of Rameses II. so slavish that the name of the earlier king is actually copied by mistake, and appears above the head of Ptolemy!

Under Ptolemy XIII. similar imitations occur, and the climax of absurdity is reached when Ptolemy the "Piper" is represented in the act of slaying a group of enemies, whom he grasps by the hair[2] in the style of a Thothmes or a Rameses!

The history of the country which fate had called them to rule was by no means ignored by the Ptolemies, as is shown by the fact that Ptolemy II. Philadelphus commissioned the Sebennytic priest Manetho to compile the annals of the ancient kings, the extant fragments of which form the ground-work of our present knowledge of the history of Egypt. Manetho wrote his work in Greek for the information of the king, his ministers, and other Greek readers, and it was

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pl. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 51.

intended in the first place to be a gift to the lately founded Library of the Museum at Alexandria. The Museum was founded by Ptolemy I. Soter, the predecessor of Philadelphus, as a centre of Greek culture and learning, not for Alexandria only, or even for Egypt, but for the whole Hellenistic East. Attached to this Museum, which in many respects closely resembled a modern university, were two libraries, viz., the Library of the Brucheion and the Library of the Serapeum, the former being the older of the two. In these libraries were deposited copies of all the works of all known Greek writers, and many stories are told of the devices by which priceless holograph copies were obtained for them,[1] and it was natural that among their treasures should have been included histories of the kingdom of Egypt under the Pharaohs. The number of the manuscript rolls contained in the older Library was added to by each successive king, until at the end of the Ptolemaïc Period it probably contained several hundred thousand manuscripts. The greatest interest was always taken by the kings in the care and development of the Museum and Libraries, and it must be said in favour of the descendants of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, that they always took an intelligent interest in, and extended a really efficient patronage to, literature and the arts. They themselves were sometimes authors, though probably of mediocre ability.

[1] See Parthey, *Alex. Mus.*, p. 88.

Thus Ptolemy IV. wrote a play called "Adonis," in imitation of Euripides, and the corrupt and vicious Physcon was so bold as to write his own "Memoirs" in twenty-four books, and even posed as a critic of the Homeric text.

Black granite statue of an official. Late Ptolemaic Period. British Museum, No. 34,270.

Ancient writers show very little admiration for the personal characters of the Ptolemies, and it must be admitted that their strictures on the lives of Philopator, Physcon, and Auletes are amply justified. But even these dissolute and cruel tyrants were softened by their love of literature and learning, by their intercourse with the learned men who flocked to Alexandria, and by their good taste and appreciation of the arts. Even the greater Ptolemies, such as Philadelphus and Euergetes, were regarded with some dislike by Greeks who were ignorant of Egyptian customs, and are nowadays often regarded as licentious monarchs because they

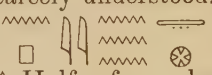
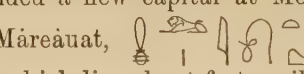
contracted marriages with their own sisters and nieces.[1] These marriages however, seemed quite natural to an Egyptian, for they had constantly taken place under the ancient Pharaohs for the purpose of keeping the royal blood pure; such marriages were entirely confined to the kings. When we have disabused our minds of the prejudice against the Ptolemies caused by this peculiar custom, for which they were not responsible, we see that despite their many vices they were, in reality, for the most part, great and powerful monarchs, who lose but little when compared with the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties.

[1] In one case a Ptolemy married his stepmother.

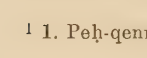
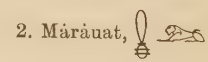
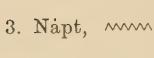
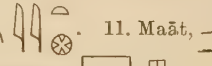
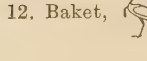
CHAPTER IV.

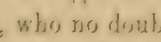
THE NUBIAN KINGDOM AFTER THE XXVIth DYNASTY.

In connexion with the Ptolemaïc Period a short account of the revival of the power of the Nubian kingdom must be given. We have already seen that the temple at Dakkeh, built by Ârq-Âmen (Ergamenes), was added to by Ptolemy IV., and it seems that either in his time or that of his predecessor much of the country between the First and Second Cataracts reverted to the Egyptian kingdom, from which it had been separated since the time of Ta-nut-Âmen, some 400 years before. Ptolemy II. must have asserted some claim to suzerainty over the Nubian kingdom, and this view is supported by the fact that he received the young Nubian prince Ârq-Âmen, the Ergamenes of Diodorus (iii. 6), at his court, for the purpose of being educated after the manner of the Greeks. Until this time the Nubian kingdom seems to have been isolated from Egypt, although the descendants of Ta-nut-Âmen continued to arrogate to themselves the titles of "king of the South and North," and "son of the Sun," thus claiming the legal right to rule over the whole of the Nile Valley from the Eastern Súdán to the

Mediterranean Sea. The Saïtes, however, took no notice of their claim, and in Nubia the Egyptian royal titles gradually came to be nothing but mere formulae, which its kings themselves scarcely understood. Their capital remained at Napata,  *Nepita*, about 450 miles from Wâdî Ḥalfa, for a long time, but they finally founded a new capital at Meroë, the ancient Egyptian Máreâuat,  , the modern Baḳrawîyeh, which lies about forty miles south of the river Atbara.

The ancient Egyptians regarded Nubia as a nome, which they called TA-KENSET, , and they called the country generally "the negro land," ; certain districts of it were called KENSET, , and KESH, , or Cush. The province between Meroë and Philae was divided into thirteen districts,[1] each with a capital. Com-

[1] 1. Peḥ-qennes,  . 2. Máráuat,  . 3. Nápt,  . 4. Peten-Ḥert, . 5. Pa-nebs, . 6. Ta-uatchet, . 7. Behent, . 8. Átcfthit, . 9. Nehāu, . 10. Meḥit,  . 11. Maāt,  . 12. Baket, . 13. Ḥet-Khent, .

paratively early in the Ptolemaïc Period the portion of Nubia which extended from Philae southwards for a distance of twelve schoinoi, in Egyptian, , was called "Dodekaschoinos"[1] by the Greeks, who no doubt adopted some ancient division of the country made in earlier times. The schoinos is said to be equal to sixty stadia, i.e., to 7½ miles, and therefore the region Dodekaschoinos would be about ninety miles in length, and would extend from Philae to the modern village of Miḥarrakah, near which lie the ruins of the city of the Holy Sycamore (Hierasycaminus). The reason why the Ptolemies laid their hands upon this part of Nubia is not far to seek, for included in it was the city on the Nile called Baka,  , by the Egyptians, Tachompso by the Greeks, Contra-Pselchis by the Romans, and Ḳubbân by the modern Arabs. From this point the caravans started for the gold mines in the Wâdî 'Ulâḳî, and all the gold obtained from that region entered Egypt by way of Baka. The mines were worked as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties wells were sunk at various places along the desert road which led to them; they must have been worked under the Ptolemies, for many of these kings being lovers of money and shrewd men of

[1] See Sethe, *Dodekaschoinos das Zwölfmeilenland an der Grenze von Aegypten und Nubien*, Leipzig, 1901.

business, it is unlikely that they would have allowed such a source of wealth to slip from their grasp.

The centres of the activity of the Nubian kings as builders were Donḳola, Napata (Gebel Barkal), Meroë (Baḳrawîyeh), Nâga, Ben Nâga, and the Muṣawwarât aṣ-Ṣufra; from these places Dr. Lepsius collected and published in his *Denkmäler* (Abtheilung v.) a large number of reliefs and inscriptions and kings' names, but unfortunately the information which would enable us to arrange these in chronological order is wanting. In his "Königsbuch"[1] Lepsius divided the duration of the Nubian kingdom into four epochs, and arranged the names of the kings in groups, but the arrangement cannot be regarded as correct.[2] In the VIIth and VIth centuries B.C. we must probably place the following kings, whose names are found at Napata or Gebel Barkal:—

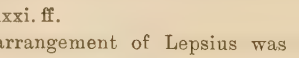
1. P-ĀNKHI, son of the Sun, RĀ-SENEFER.[3]

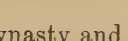
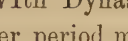
2 RĀ-USR-MAĀT, P-ĀNKHI-MERI-ÁMEN-SA-NET.

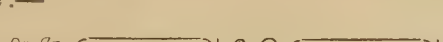
Both these names seem to have been composed under the influence of the archaism which was in vogue under

[1] Taff. lxxi. ff.

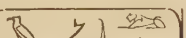
[2] The arrangement of Lepsius was adopted substantially by Brugsch and Bouriant, *Livre des Rois*, p. 128 ff.

[3] With the Horus name  , SE-ḤETEP-TAUI-F.

the XXVIth Dynasty and shortly before. To a somewhat later period must probably be assigned the kings, **3.** MER-KA-RĀ  and **4.** UATCH-KA-RĀ  ,[1] whose equally archaistic names are also found at Gebel Barkal. Next we must probably place:—

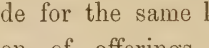
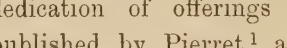
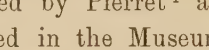
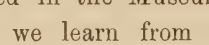
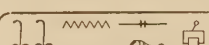
5.  MER-KA-RA, son of the Sun, ÁSPELTA.

ÁSPELTA seems to have flourished in the second half of the VIIth century B.C., and Mariette thought that he was a contemporary of the first kings of the XXVIth Dynasty; recently Schäfer has come to the conclusion that his date may be fixed at B.C. 625.[2] Of the events of this king's reign nothing is known. An account of his election and of his coronation is inscribed upon a stele which was found at Gebel Barkal, and which is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, and from this much information may be gained concerning coronation rites and ceremonies as performed at Napata.[3] The king was elected by six of the nobles of the kingdom, and on a given day their choice had to be ratified by the god Ámen; the chosen

[1] With the nomen  , ÁMATHEL.

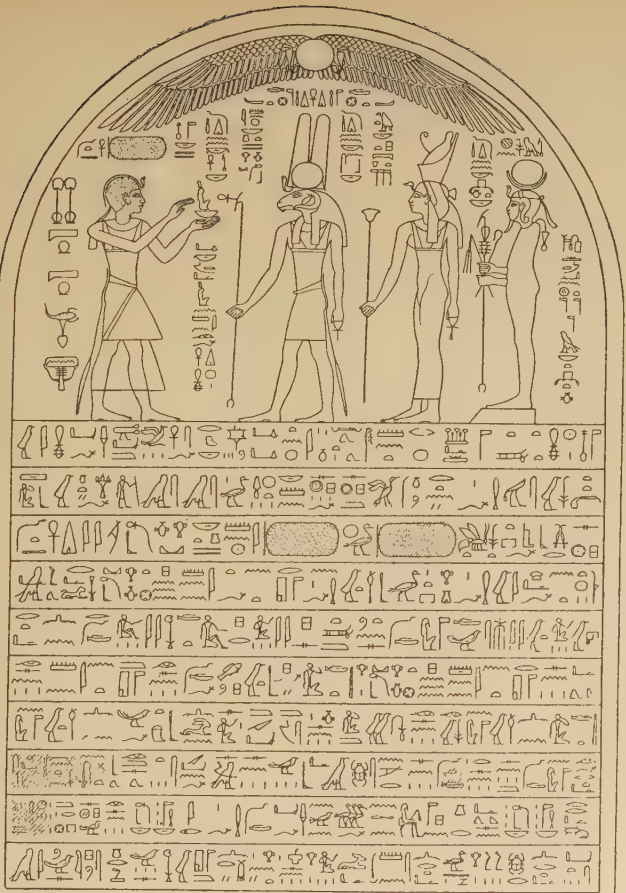
[2] *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, xxxiii. 1895, p. 101 ff.

[3] For the text see Mariette, *Monuments*, pl. 9; Mariette, *Revue Archéologique*, 1865; Maspero, *Revue Archéologique*, 1873; and *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 71.

man was brought to the temple of the "Holy Mountain," i.e., Gebel Barkal, and taken in before the statue of the god, and if Ámen approved of him the statue spoke and declared that he was to be the king of the country. The hieroglyphics which form the king's prenomen and nomen were for some reason obliterated in ancient days, but there is no doubt that the stele was made for the same king as the stele recording a dedication of offerings to Ámen which has been published by Pierret[1] and by Schäfer,[2] and is now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre. Àspelta's mother, we learn from this stele, was called Nensersa,  , his wife Māṭ.....ḥenen,  , and his daughter Kheb, ; the stele is dated in the 24th (?) year of the king's reign, and gives us the names of the king as Horus ( NEFER-KHĀ), as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet ( *Nefer-khā*), and as the Horus of gold ( User-àb). Unfortunately neither the stele at Cairo nor that in the Louvre supplies us with other than information of a religious character. In the Stele of Nàstasenen (lines 61 and 65) are allusions to certain possessions with

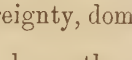
[1] *Études Égyptologiques*, tom. i. pp. 96–109; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 87.

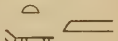
[2] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1895, p. 101 ff.

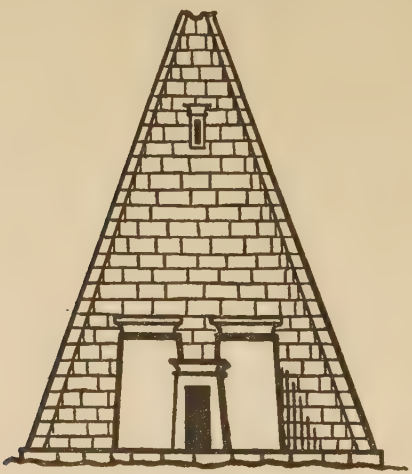


The Stele of the Excommunication.

which he endowed the shrines of Åmen of Pa-qem-Åten and Bast of Thert, and judging from these and from the information supplied by the stele in the Louvre, we are right in assuming that Åspelta's accession was heartily approved of by the priesthood of Åmen in Nubia.

In connexion with this reign must be mentioned the "Stele of the Excommunication," which was found with the stelae of Piānkhi, Ta-nut-Åmen, Åspelta, and Ḥeru-sa-åtef at Gebel Barkal. The stele is a small one, and on the upper part of it is a scene in which a king is making an offering of Maāt, , to the god Åmen-Rā, "who dwelleth in the Holy Mountain," . The god is ram-headed, and is accompanied by Mut and by Khensu-em-Uast, who holds in his hands the emblems of life, sovereignty, dominion, power, and stability,  ; above the gods is the winged disk. The hieroglyphic characters which formed the name of the king and his features have been obliterated, both from the cartouche above his head, and from the third line of the inscription, but it is probable that the king who is here represented is Åspelta, for this king's names are obliterated from the stele which records his coronation. The stele now under consideration is inscribed with a very interesting text which throws some light on the social life of the people of Napata. After enumerating the titles of the god

Tem, , it goes on to say that in the second year of his reign the king made a journey to the temple of Åmen of Napata in the Holy Mountain, to "drive out "the men who were hateful to the god" and who were called "TEM PESIU PER ṬET KHAIU,"  . These men,



A Pyramid at Meroë.

it appears, formed a company or sect the creed of which was expressed in the words of their name, i.e., "those "who cook not that which cometh from the hand of "the slaughterers;" in other words, a sect which preferred to eat its meat raw like the Tartars of old and some of the tribes of the modern Abyssinians. The Nubian king was opposed to the sect and tried to

alter their views, but they conspired against him and intended to take his life, and when the king discovered this he went to the temple and killed them all, and gave orders that their posterity should not enter the temple. In revenge for this act the adherents of the raw-meat eaters cut out the king's name and features from the stele.[1]

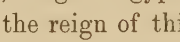
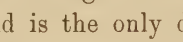
6. P-ĀNKH-ALURU.

Of P-ĀNKH-ALURU nothing whatsoever is known, but we may assume that he lived in the first half of the VIth century B.C. His name occurs twice in the Stele of Nâstasenen; from the way in which he is mentioned it is certain that he was an ancestor of this king, and he may even have been the founder of the dynasty. In line 8 he is said to have sprung from the city of Ta-ḥeḥet, , and in line 16 Nastasenen says, "Âmen of Napata, my good father, gave me the "kingdom of Napata, and the crown of Ḥeru-sa-âtef, "and the might of P-ānkh-aluru." The former of these kings was probably the father of Nâstasenen, and the latter his grandfather.

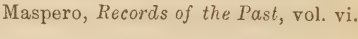
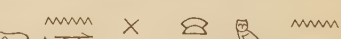
[1] See Mariette, *Monuments*, plate 10; Mariette, *Rev. Arch.*, 1865, tom. ii. p. 161; Maspero, *ibid.*, 1871, tom. i. p. 8; and *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 93.

7.

ÀMEN-SA-MERI, son of the Sun, ḤERU-SA-ÀTEF.

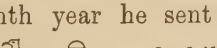
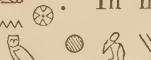
ḤERU-SA-ÀTEF, who was probably the son of P-ānkh-aluru, appears to have ascended the throne of Nubia about B.C. 560, and to have been a contemporary of Àāhmes II., king of Egypt. A stele inscribed with an account of the reign of this king was found at Gebel Barkal, and is the only document which throws any light upon the events of the reign of Ḥeru-sa-àtef.[1] On the obverse of the stele are two scenes in which the king is seen making offerings to Àmen, who is represented as a man-headed god in one scene and as a ram-headed god in the other; the king is accompanied by his mother Thesmanefer,  , and by his wife Behthàliḥ (?),  . The stele is dated in the thirty-fifth year of the king's reign; after enumerating his Horus name and other titles,[2] the text goes on to describe his offerings to the

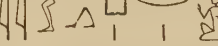
[1] For the text see Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plates, 11, 12, 13; and for a translation see Maspero, *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 85.

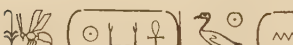
[2] His Horus name was  ; his name was  ; and his name was .

Stele of Ḥeru-sa-âtef.

gods Åmen-Rā of Qem-Åten, Åmen-Rā of Pa-nebes, Bast of Tart, , and Åmen-Rā of Tar.....reset, . The inscriptions on the two sides of the stele contain a list of the benefactions which Ḥeru-sa-åtef made to the temple of Åmen-Rā of Napata, and describe the gifts *seriatim*, and it is difficult not to come to the conclusion that he *bought* the throne of Nubia from the priesthood.

In the second year of his reign he attacked the people of Rehrehsa, , and in the third year he marched against the Meṭeṭ, , a nation which has been thought to be mentioned by Pliny. In his fifth year he attacked them again at Ånerua.....ret, ; and in his sixth year at , and after this his foe surrendered, saying, "I am thy servant, I am a woman," . In his eleventh year he sent a force against Ṭāqnat,  , and killed the rebel chiefs Barḳa, , Sa-Åmen-sa, , who had invaded Sunt, . In his sixteenth year he attacked Mekhet-ḥi,  , and captured the chief of Rehrehsa in Meroë; in his 23rd

year he attacked him and his ally Shaiuārkaru,  ; and in his 33rd year he sent fifty spies into Mekhet-ḥi, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon his foes in the city of Teqethet, . The latter part of the inscription gives the names of a number of shrines of Rā, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, e.g., Osiris and Isis of Merthet, , and of Ḳarret, ; Osiris, Isis, and Horus of Sehresat, ; Osiris and Ámenȧ-Ábṭi[1] of Sekaruḳat, ; Horus in Karuthet, ; Rā in Meḥat, ; Ánḥer in Áruthenit, ; Osiris of Napata; Osiris of Nehanat, ; Osiris and Isis of Pa-qem; and Osiris of Pa-Nebes, .

8.  ĀNKH-KA-RĀ, son of the Sun, NÀSTASENEN.

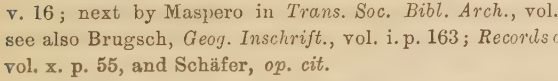
Of NÀSTASENEN, or ÀSTASENEN, there is preserved in the Museum at Berlin a grey granite stele dated in the

[1] .

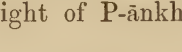
eighth year of his reign; this stele was commonly thought to have been found at Donḳola, but it has been shown [1] recently that it was discovered among the ruins of a temple at Gebel Barkal. From the important text,[2] inscribed upon the stele, which has been re-edited by Herr Schäfer, we gain much information concerning the reign of Nàstasenen, and it is clear that he was a great king. He adopted as his Horus name the title, "Mighty bull, beloved of the company of the gods, who appeareth in Napata,"[3] and he was called by Àmen from Meroë [4] to Napata to rule the land. He reached in one day the city of Àsṭmursat, , and passing Ta-ḥeḥet, , and the vineyard planted by P-ānkh-Àluru, , at length arrived at Napata; from Napata he sent on messengers to Donḳola, the Tenḳuur of the inscription. Shortly after his arrival at Napata

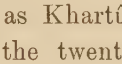
[1] See Schäfer, *Regierungsbericht des Königs Nastesen*, Leipzig, 1901.

[2] First published from a paper squeeze by Lepsius in *Denkmäler*, v. 16; next by Maspero in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. iv. 1875; see also Brugsch, *Geog. Inschrift.*, vol. i. p. 163; *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 55, and Schäfer, *op. cit.*

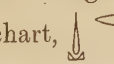
[3]  .

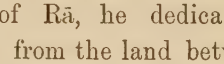
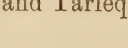
[4] The old form of the name was Baruuat, .

he went to the temple, and he prayed to Àmen that the royal crown of king Ḥeru-sa-àtef,  , and the might of P-ānkh-Àluru might be bestowed upon him.

On the first day of the third month of the season Shat (i.e., Khoiak), he made a great festival in honour of Àmen, and a great procession of the god in his boat took place; at this time Àmen gave him the sovereignty over the land of Kenset, , and the land of Àlut, or Àrut, , the Nine-Barbarian nations, , the lands on both sides of the Nile, and the four quarters of the earth. From this we see that Kenset was the name given to Nubia from Napata to Philae, and Àlut represented the country south of Nubia as far as Khartûm, or perhaps even as far as Ṣawba. On the twenty-fourth day of the month Nàstasenen was crowned with great rejoicings, and he slew the sacrificial beasts, and ascended the golden throne and sat down under the great umbrella. He then continued his journey down the river, and offered up sacrifices to Àmen of Pa-qemt, ,[1] a town near the head of the Third Cataract, and to Àmen of Pa-nebest,  , a town near Wâdî Ḥalfa; Àmen of Pa-qemt gave him a bow, and Àmen

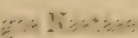
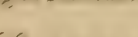
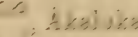
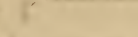
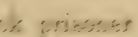
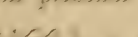
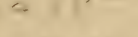
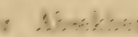
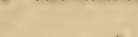
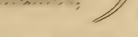
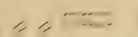
[1] Or, Pa-qemt-Àten; see the inscription on the reverse of the stele, line 10.

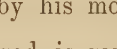
of Pa-Nebest a club. When these acts of homage to Ámen of Northern Nubia were ended, Nástasenen returned to Napata and made a great feast in honour of Ámen and the goddess Bast of Terut, or Telut, , a town to the south of Napata. He next made great offerings to the gods, including figures of Ámen and Horus, vessels of incense, and honey, and large numbers of bowls, basins, vases, cups, etc., made of bronze, and sacrificed bulls and cows to the god, and performed all the ceremonies which he was expected to perform. Then there came the man Qambasauṭen... , and made war against Nástasenen. Against him the Nubian army marched from Tchart,  , and inflicted a crushing defeat upon his forces. Nástasenen captured all his ships, and utterly routed his men, and he took as booty all his lands, and all his flocks and herds, whereupon his army had intended to live, from the city of Kareṭept, , to the city of Taluṭi-peḥt, . To the town of Taremut, , he gave twelve of the holy bulls which had been brought from Napata. The name of the king or general, Qambasauṭen... who came against Nástasenen naturally suggests Cambyses, although it is spelt in an unusual fashion.

We have already seen that Cambyses, according to Herodotus, made an expedition into Ethiopia, as Nubia was called in those days, and that it was attended with the loss of all his army, and it is quite possible that in the inscription of Nàstasenen we have an account of the actual defeat of the Persian king.[1] Cambyses must have made his ill-fated attempt to reduce Nubia about 525 or 524, and this date falls well within the period of the reign of Nàstasenen. On the 26th day of the fourth month of the season Shat, i.e., on his birthday, Nàstasenen gave six of the sacred cattle of Napata to the city of Sakasakaṭit,  , and on the great day of the same month whereon he received the crown of Rā, he dedicated to Àmen garlands and offerings from the land between Karṭept, , and Tarleqet,  . In Taqetat, , he dedicated a lamp to the god.

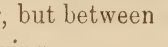
Nàstasenen next made war on the city Mekhneṭ-qenenet, , and made captive its prince Àikhentkat, , and captured great spoil, consisting of 717,008 head of cattle of various kinds, 2236 women, 322 objects from the

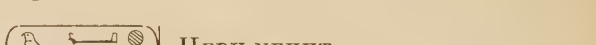
[1] The arguments for and against this view are well set forth by Schäfer in *Regierungsbericht des Königs Nastesen*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 9 and 10.

town of Katarit, . In his subsequent campaigns Nastasenen conquered, 1. Kebalu, ; Akalukankent,  , and took prisoner their prince Lukkhentten,  ; 2. Arerusa,  , taking prisoner Abekbeet,  , the prince of Mashamet,  ; 3. Mekhekerkuerbet,  , taking prisoner the prince thereof; 4. Makkentka, , the prince thereof Tamakhitbet,  , having defeated at the Sycamore of Sarusaru,  ; 5. he made two expeditions against the Mati  , the first because they had stolen some property which had been dedicated to the temple of Pa-qem-Aten, , by king Aqetta,  , and the second because they had stolen some of the property of the goddess Bast,  , of the city of Thes, , which had been dedicated by the same king. At each conquest

Nàstasenen captured large quantities of spoil, and he was careful to make large gifts to his god Àmen of Napata. The upper part of the stele of Nàstasenen is rounded, and on the obverse are two scenes in which the king is seen making offerings to the god Àmen of Napata; in the one the god is man-headed, and the king is accompanied by his mother Palkha  , and in the other the god is ram-headed, and the king is accompanied by his wife Sekhmakh . Above these scenes is the winged disk with the pendent uraei of the South and North and the king's name in a cartouche between them.

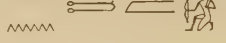
After the reign of Nàstasenen it again becomes impossible to arrange the Nubian kings in chronological order, but between B.C. 525 and 260 we may place the following:—

1.  Ḥeru-nekht.

2.  Sekheper-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Senka-Àmen-seken, with the Horus name .

3. Khu-ka-Rā, son of the Sun, Àthlenersa, with the Horus name Ḳer-taui, ; and the name Meri-

King Senka-Åmen-seken slaying his foes in the presence of Åmen-Rā. From a pyramid at Gebel Barkal.

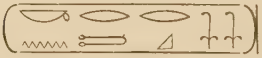
Maāt, ; and the name Smen-en-hepu, ; and the title "Menthu among his soldiers,"  .

4. Lord of the two lands, KHEPER-KA-RĀ, ÀMEN-NETEḲ.

5. ÀMEN-TAUI-KALBATH.

6. ÀMEN-ĀRIT, the lord, maker of things, KENTHÀḤEBIT.

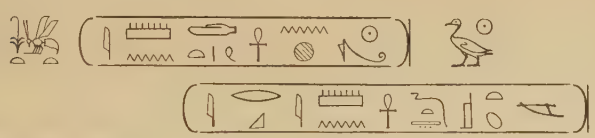
7. ĀNKH-KA-RĀ, ÀRKENKHERULU.

8.  KENRETHREQNEN.

9. KHNEM-ÀB-RĀ, son of the Sun, ...ÀMEN-ÀRK-NEB.

10. KALKA, son of the Sun, KALTELÀ.

11. ĀNKH-NEFER-ÅB-RĀ, son of the Sun, ÅMEN-MER-ÅSER.....

12. 

ÅMEN-ṬET-ĀNKH-TÅA-RĀ, son of the Sun, ÅRQ-ÅMEN-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-ÅST-MER.

ÅRQ-ÅMEN was a contemporary of Ptolemy II., Ptolemy III., and Ptolemy IV., and he was brought up at the court of Ptolemy II. in accordance with Hellenistic ideas (Diodorus iii. 6). The circumstances by which he came to be under this king's care at Alexandria are unknown, but they, no doubt, arose from some determined and successful attempt which was made by Ptolemy II. to obtain dominion in Nubia. The object in view was probably the control of the gold mines in Wâdî 'Ulâḳi, which was approached by a desert road that started on the eastern bank of the Nile near the modern Ḳubbân, but whether this control was obtained by force or by diplomacy cannot be said; in either case some years of the king's minority were passed in Alexandria. Árq-Ámen, or Ergamenes, as Diodorus calls him, built a small temple at Dakkeh in Nubia, and on the portions of the walls which still stand the king may be seen making offerings to Osiris, Isis, and Horus, and to Ámen-Rā,

Mut, and Khnemu, and to Thoth and Tefnut. Árq-Ámen was a devotee of the god Ári-ḥes-nefer, and he contributed reliefs to the small temple which Ptolemy IV. built in honour of this god on the Island of Philae. Diodorus tells us that he was the first of the Ethio-

Nubian king seated on his throne in a shrine; behind him stand his queen and the goddess Isis. From the south wall of Pyramid No. 9 at Bakrawîyeh. (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. v. pl. 27.)

pians to break the laws of his country in connexion with the custom of putting kings to death. It seems that whenever the priests at Meroë became tired of their king they sent a message to him commanding

him to put himself to death, saying that it was the will of the gods; usually the king obeyed the command and so accepted what he believed to be his fate. A

Nubian king. From a bas-relief on the west wall of the Temple at Naga. (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. v. pl. 60.)

message of this kind was sent to Årq-Åmen, but he was so bold as to reject and despise such commands, and assuming the spirit and courage becoming a king,

he collected a number of men and marched straightway to the golden temple of the Ethiopians, which was built in a place very difficult of access, and there cut the throats of all the priests, and so abolished an ancient barbarous custom. There is no doubt that the king who built the temple at Dakkeh is to be identified with the Ergamenes of whom the above story is told.

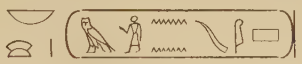
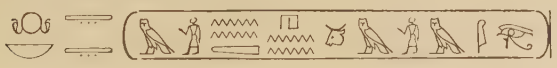
Another Nubian king, of much later date, whose cartouches are found near Philae is

TÀA-EN-RĀ-SETEP-EN-NETERU, son of the Sun, ÀTCHA-KHAR-ÀMEN-ĀNKH-TCHETTA-ÀST-MERI.

He seems to have repaired or added to a temple at Dâbûd, whereupon appear the names of some of the Roman Emperors, but whether he was contemporary with them, or immediately preceded them, which is more probable, cannot be said.

A year or so after the death of Cleopatra the Nubians revolted, and Cornelius Gallus, the first Roman prefect of Egypt, marched against them and suppressed the revolt. About B.C. 23 the Nubian queen, whose official title was "Candace," invaded Egypt, seized the Island of Philae, and enslaved the inhabitants of Elephantine and Syene. Petronius attacked her with 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, and drove her as far south as Napata, which he destroyed (Strabo xvii. i. § 54; Pliny vi. 35); after this the

Nubian kings appear to have restored Meroë and made it their capital. The kings who reigned there from about B.C. 200 to A.D. 200 adopted the prenomens of some of the old Egyptian kings, and in their second cartouches they gave their own native names, e.g. :—

	Egyptian Prenomens.	Nubian Nomens.
1.		
2.		
3.		
		
4.		
5.		

The Meroïtic inscriptions have not as yet been deciphered, and it is impossible to give the correct readings of the Nubian names, because at the period when they were written the Nubians seem to have given new values to several of the hieroglyphic characters. Thus the Nubian kingdom of the descendants of the priest-kings came to an end, and a most interesting but little-known chapter of Egyptian history is brought to a close. The Egyptian element in

the Nubian royal house or houses gradually exhausted itself, until in the later Ptolemaïc Period we find that the features of their kings as depicted on the monuments resemble those of negroes, while their names, which started by being purely Egyptian, become as time goes on barbaric and strange. A parallel may be drawn between them and the Greek kings in Bactria and India, who were established in those countries after the expedition of Alexander the Great, and who, being isolated from Greece and Greek culture, gradually became more and more barbarized until their original Greek characteristics were entirely lost.

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THE END